

Andrew Kopkind: High Wind in Jamaica ■ Roger Morris: Last Words on Foreign Policy

The Wall Street Journal's PR Buffet ■ *The Register* Makes the News

COLUMBIA JOURNALISM REVIEW

MARCH / APRIL 1980 • \$2.50
NATIONAL MEDIA MONITOR • PRESS / RADIO / TV

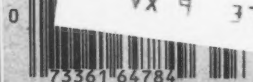


Iran and the Press: Whose Holy War?

by EDWARD W. SAID

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The thought is from Goethe. The interpretation is by Corita Kent of Immaculate Heart College.

7

The ability of a radio or television station to entertain and relax you is challenged by its ability to disturb you. A broadcaster is literally the most powerful voice in any community. This voice can lull or prod millions of people at a time.


If it does nothing but lull, that is not enough. The broadcaster must frequently say things that make people a little uncomfortable. Because there are things in any community which people should be uncomfortable about. And there are things in the world that need fresh thinking and new ideas. And a thoroughly satisfied person feels no need to progress.

Your broadcaster recognizes his responsibility to disturb you. And to give you something to think about.



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PITTSBURGH KDKA • KDKA-TV • WPNT
FORT WAYNE WOIO
CHICAGO WIND
HOUSTON KODA-FM
SAN FRANCISCO KPIX
LOS ANGELES KFWB



it is
the
property
of
true
genius
to
disturb
all
settled
ideas.

Contra



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1980 DASHER DIESEL. THE BEST MILEAGE WAGON IN AMERICA.

The VW Dasher Diesel not only gets better mileage than any other wagon in America, it gets better mileage than most other cars in America. (EPA est. 36 mpg, 49 mpg highway estimate. Use est. mpg for comparisons. Mpg varies with speed, trip length, weather.

(Actual highway mileage will probably be less.)

The Dasher Diesel wagon is big enough to hold a fair-sized calf. But the inside is so handsome, you'll want to keep the livestock elsewhere.

"Quality pervades wherever one looks, and it's pleasing to the eye as well as to the touch," says Motor Trend. "It's so nice that you'll feel as if you're

driving a much more expensive car."

Breezin' by all them gas stations, you'll recollect what Car and Driver said: "It has a way of going much like that of a fine horse, precise and proud."

So, pardner, if someone tells you there ain't no way to put downright luxury together with downright economy, you can give 'em a quote from us:

"Bull."

**VOLKSWAGEN
DOES IT
AGAIN**



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“To assess the performance of journalism in all its forms, to call attention to its shortcomings and strengths, and to help define — or redefine — standards of honest, responsible service . . . to help stimulate continuing improvement in the profession and to speak out for what is right, fair, and decent”

—Excerpt from the *Review's* founding editorial, Autumn 1961

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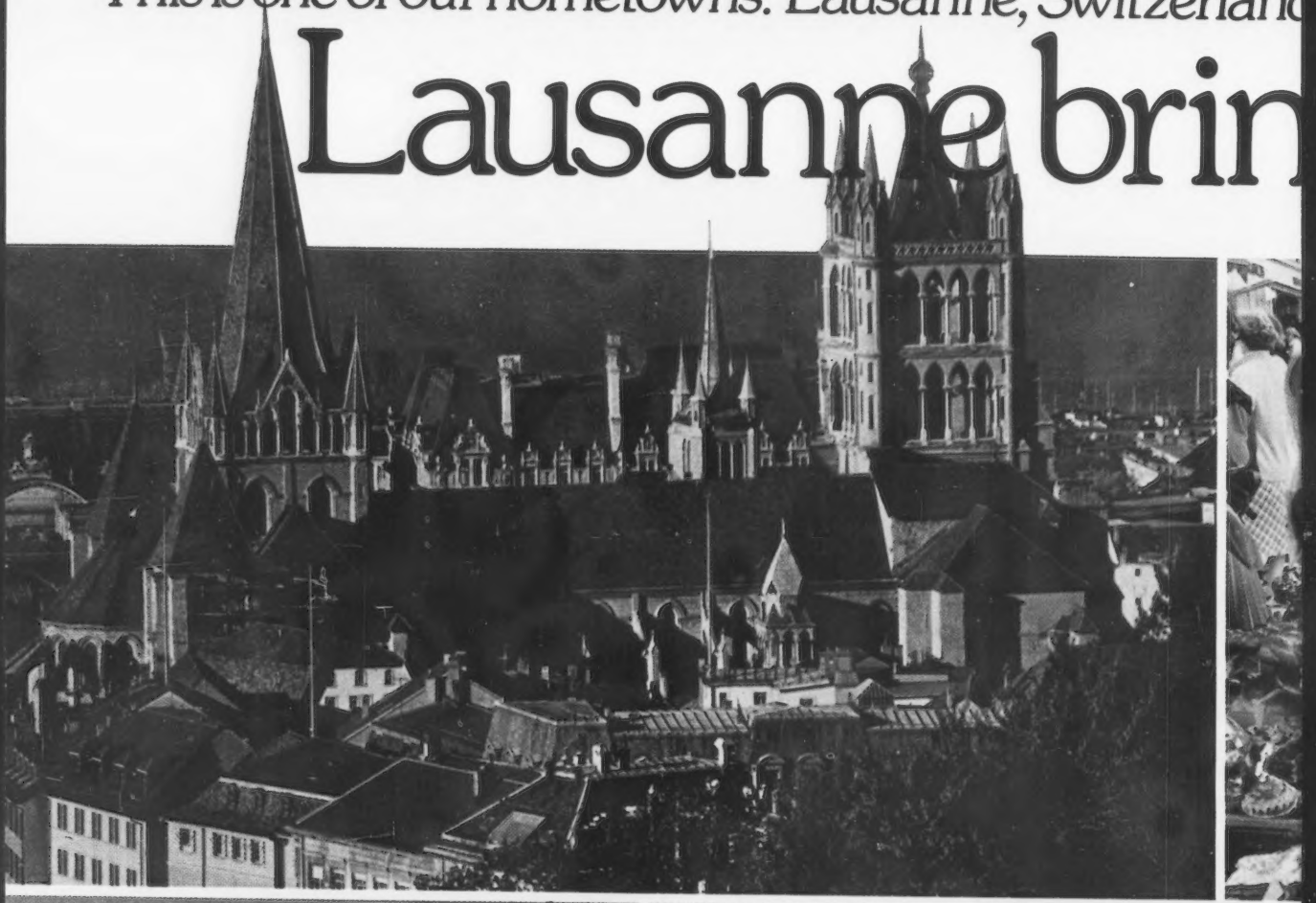
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Columbia Journalism Review (ISSN 0010-194X) is published bimonthly under the auspices of the faculty, alumni, and friends of the Graduate School of Journalism, Columbia University. Volume XVIII, Number 6, March/April 1980. Copyright© 1980 Graduate School of Journalism Columbia University. Subscription rates: \$14 a year; \$17 for foreign subscriptions. Please address all subscription mail to: Columbia Journalism Review, Subscription Service Dept., 200 Alton Place, Marion, Ohio 43302. Editorial office, 700 Journalism Building, Columbia University, New York, N.Y. 10027 (212) 280-5595. Unsolicited manuscripts are welcomed and will be read by the editors, but they cannot be returned unless accompanied by a stamped, self-addressed envelope. Business office: 700A Journalism Building, Columbia University, New York, N.Y. 10027 (212) 280-2716. Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y. and at an additional mailing office. No claims for back copies honored after one year. National newsstand distribution: Eastern News Distributors, Inc., 111 Eighth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10011.

Postmaster: send Form 3579 to *Columbia Journalism Review*, 200 Alton Place, Marion, Ohio 43302.

This is one of our hometowns: Lausanne, Switzerland

Lausanne brings



gs it all together.



It was here that the Celts brought together Western Europe's first great culture. The Romans came and made it an international crossroads. The Middle Ages left its faith in the soaring arches of the 700-year-old Cathedral. And all of it lives here still.

The Lausannois have lost nothing that they liked in all their millenia of living here. Whatever pleased them, however contradictory, they kept and molded into something uniquely their own: Celtic hospitality, Roman internationalism, medieval pageantry and modern functionalism. The terraced cobblestone streets live comfortably with modern highways that bring travelers from all of Europe, and outdoor markets not much changed from the Middle Ages survive compatibly with modern markets of banking, finance and international trade.

It is a city that unites, a crossroads that brings people and ideas together—for international businessmen and pleasure-seeking tourists alike. Hotel keepers from around the world come here to study the distinctive Lausanne art of making the traveler welcome—and find, to their dismay, that part of the magic lies in the incomparable setting of vineyard-clad hills sloping down to serene blue lake (Lac Léman to the Lausannois, never Lake Geneva) and the towering Alps beyond.

It is a city that helps us to bring together our flourishing business in Europe, the Middle East and Africa, and where we've maintained one of our major international headquarters for the past 16 years. Like all the Lausannois, we find it a great place to do business and a great place to live. And if you can't do either, we know you'll find it a great place to visit.

Philip Morris Incorporated

Good people make good things.

Makers of Marlboro, Benson & Hedges 100's, Merit, Parliament Lights, Virginia Slims and Multitfilter; Miller High Life Beer, Lite Beer and Löwenbräu Special and Dark Special Beer; 7 UP and Diet 7 UP.



Photographs by Marcel Imsand of Lausanne



86 Proof Scotch Whisky. Distilled, blended and bottled in Scotland. Imported by Monsieur Henri Wines, Ltd., New York, N.Y.



Photographed in the Cafe Royal, Edinburgh, Scotland.

WHY THE SCOTS DRINK MORE BELL'S THAN ANY OTHER SCOTCH.

Because Bell's is blended with a high percentage of malt whiskies, which give a true "Scotch" Scotch taste.

Because a precise amount of the Bell's blend is matured in sherry casks, to give a mellow taste.

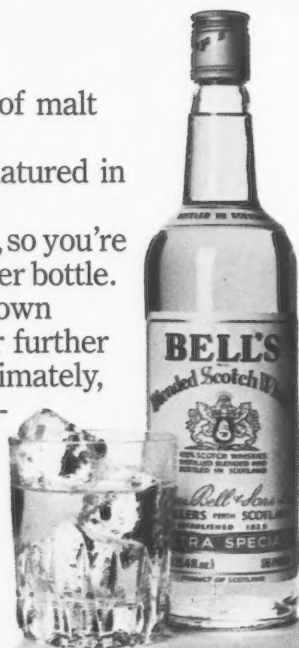
Because we use a *two-step* blending process, not one, so you're doubly assured of smoothness, time after time, bottle after bottle.

And because the blends in Bell's aren't merely thrown together and bottled, but are "married" in oak casks for further aging so they have time to get to know each other intimately, comfortably. That's why Bell's has such a mature, well-rounded taste.

The Scots are known to appreciate the taste of a great Scotch. And that's exactly why they drink more Bell's than any other Scotch in Scotland.

Taste.

Bell's. The best selling Scotch in Scotland.



CHRONICLE

UPI takes off the gloves

BULLETIN

BELGRADE - PRESIDENT TITO OF YUGOSLAVIA IS DEAD.

AP 0303 12:46 PES

The photocopied booklet, with the bold, black "CONFIDENTIAL" stamped across its blue cover, resembles a top-secret government document. But the thirteen-page report isn't a product of the CIA, Pentagon, or any other security-conscious government agency. It's the work of United Press International. Its title: "A Report on Accuracy and The Associated Press, For the Confidential Information of United Press International Personnel."

Inside, UPI editor-in-chief H.L. Stevenson has gathered the raw copy of a dozen bloopers and lapses that the AP has committed over the past two years. He has included, among other items, critical comment on the rival agency's Three Mile Island coverage, an attack on the AP for a conflict of interest on a series of cancer stories, clips showing that the AP had brought people back to life in second-day disaster stories, and evidence of premature obituaries—President Tito's in 1978, for one.

The booklet, according to Stevenson's October cover letter, was distributed to UPI's foreign and domestic news editors, bureau managers, and other executives with orders to "Use them [the errors] discreetly, but use them without hesitation, when the subject of UPI's accuracy comes up in discussions with editors, publishers or others." The AP's track record, asserts Stevenson in his introduction, "is far worse than our own. . . . We shouldn't be reluctant to take off the gloves in dispelling once and for all the canard that A.P. is more accurate than UPI."

**NEWS DIRECTORS:
KILL BELGRADE TITO DEAD.
AP 0303 1302 PES**

Stevenson's letter makes clear his displeasure with a critical July 1979 *Wall*

James J. Cramer is a staff reporter for The American Lawyer.

Street Journal article about the struggling service, which quoted an anonymous Minneapolis editor as saying, "UPI still operates with get the story first and worry about the facts later. And it uses inflated numbers in disasters to grab headlines." The *Journal* attributed UPI's laggard financial performance, including 1978 losses of \$2.5 million, in part to the perceived unreliability of the agency's reporting compared to that of the AP. Stevenson's handiwork appeared at an important time for UPI, whose owners, the E.W. Scripps Company and the Hearst Corporation, were trying to sell off 90 percent of their stock to American publishers and broadcasters (an effort that subsequently seems to have failed).

Stevenson dismisses any connection between the attempted sale and his report. "We've done these things throughout the years," he says. "This won't be the first or last of these." He promises another installment in the spring, and, he adds, he wouldn't be surprised if the AP had compiled a similar collection on UPI.

The AP hasn't, according to its editors. "We would never put one out on them," says Lou Boccardi, the AP's executive editor. ("We don't have enough file space," jokes managing editor Burl Osborne.) Boccardi dismisses the UPI pamphlet as "just a collection of incidents that could be made by any news organization."

**NEWS DIRECTORS:
A KILL HAS BEEN TRANSMITTED ON
THE BELGRADE REPORT THAT PRESIDENT
TITO IS DEAD. THE REPORT
WAS ERRONEOUS. TITO IS NOT DEAD.
A KILL IS MANDATORY.
MAKE NO FURTHER USE OF THIS
STORY.**

AP 0303 1304 PES

Boccardi concedes that the AP has made its share of mistakes, including a few cited in UPI's book, but he adds that errors are immediately corrected and that swift inquiries find the source of the

mistakes. "It's silly to try to tell you we never make mistakes," he says. "With close to four million words a day, that's inevitable."

If AP editors regard most of the errors with studied nonchalance, they are still trying to live down their announcement that Tito had died during his visit to the U.S. two years ago. The Yugoslavs "suspected a big plot on somebody's part, a political motivation," says Boccardi, recalling the explanations the wire service tendered to dispel their fears.

(TITO EXPLANATORY):

NEW YORK -- THE FIRST PARAGRAPH OF AN ARTICLE BEING PREPARED FOR THE OBITUARY FILES OF THE ASSOCIATED PRESS ON PRESIDENT TITO, SAYING HE HAD DIED, WAS TRANSMITTED IN ERROR TODAY ON THE AP'S NATIONAL BROADCAST WIRE.

THE PARAGRAPH MOVED ON THE BROADCAST WIRE AT 12:46 P.M. EST, AND WAS KILLED APPROXIMATELY 10 MINUTES LATER.

THE ITEM WAS NOT TRANSMITTED TO NEWSPAPERS AND WAS NOT DISTRIBUTED ABROAD. THE STORY WAS BEING PREPARED ROUTINELY FOR BACKGROUND AND WAS NOT CONNECTED IN ANY WAY WITH CURRENT NEWS.

AP0303 1334 PES

UPI has not concealed the fun it had with that one but, as one AP editor says, "UPI's not very wise to start a pissing contest. We could go to the UPI wire and find stuff that would make this look good." Should the AP decide to do so, it would probably call attention to UPI's great Colombian caper. In July 1976, while testing equipment in the agency's Bogota bureau, a new employee pushed a wrong button and sent around the world the fabricated bulletin that Colombian President Alfonso Lopez Michelsen had been assassinated. Claiming UPI was guilty of a "grave move against the internal public order and Colombia's image abroad," the government promptly booted the bureau out of the country.

James J. Cramer

continued

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WATCH NOVA, TELEVISION'S
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SERIES, ON YOUR LOCAL
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A COMPANY CALLED
TRW

Times Mirror in Hartford: cross and doublecross

The Times Mirror Company's purchase of *The Hartford Courant* last August won for the newspaper chain a monopoly daily that had been ardently wooed by several corporate suitors. But the honeymoon in Hartford didn't last long. Soon after the \$105.6 million match was announced, local consumer and community groups began protesting Times Mirror's joint control of the *Courant* and two local cable franchises it had been awarded in 1978. In October, the Connecticut Public Utilities Control Authority (PUCA) began hearings on whether the two cable franchises, in Hartford and nearby Meriden, should be revoked. The January 24 decision, requiring that Times Mirror sell either the paper or the cable systems, is one of the first by a state regulatory board on cross-ownership. Its importance as a precedent will likely increase along with the robust growth of the cable industry.

The *Courant*, Hartford's sole daily paper, has a circulation of 215,000 in a market of over one million. The cable system, Hartford CATV, Inc., with 20,000 subscribers still a fledgling operation, projects an ultimate base of 100,000 households. Together, they provide Times Mirror a degree of market power that four suburban papers, the state consumer counsel, and several community cable groups found threatening. In December they asked the PUCA to consider implementing restrictions or requiring divestiture. "The Times Mirror's cable stations will reach an estimated fifty percent of potential subscribers," U.S. Representative Toby Moffett of Connecticut told the PUCA last October. "Presumably, that number will grow. In addition, it should be noted that the penetration figures of *The Hartford Courant* alone could make this cross-ownership . . . a threat." Without divestiture, he concluded, "Times Mirror will control a significant proportion of the information available to the citizens of our state."

Connecticut consumer counsel Barry Zitser took a different tack. Citing Times Mirror memos that discuss the company's hope of boosting *Courant* profit margins, Zitser told the PUCA that the media conglomerate might be expected

to stint on its cable investment while pouring funds into the paper—thus depriving Hartford-area residents of mature cable programming.

The four suburban dailies (the *Journal Inquirer*, the *Bristol Press*, the *New Britain Herald*, and the *Meriden Record*) told the PUCA they feared the Los Angeles-based corporation might introduce combined cable-newspaper advertising rates that could divert revenues from competing media. In support of their contention, Yale Braunstein, a Brandeis University economics professor,

testified that, while scant data exist on the relatively new phenomenon of cable-newspaper cross-ownership, joint newspaper-TV station ownership has raised ad rates an average 10 to 15 percent above what would prevail had there been no cross-ownership. Times Mirror cross-ownership in Connecticut, he concluded, would produce "detrimental effects on the advertising revenues and on the ability to survive of the suburban daily newspapers. . . ."

Times Mirror, for its part, dismissed these objections as airy "what ifs." "We

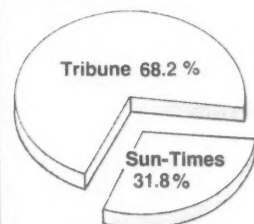
New frontiers in cooking

Based on the same Audit Bureau of Circulation data for the six months ending September 30, 1979, the Chicago Tribune and the Sun-Times cooked up some pie graphs to tell their success stories. Who is right? That depends, of course, on how you slice it. The Tribune compared ad linage, the usual measure. But the Sun-Times spiced up its performance by converting linage into "page equivalents," which can make small ads go a long way for a tabloid like the Sun-Times. Remarks a Sun-Times ad executive, "Like every good marketing firm, we can make a case for the point we want to prove."

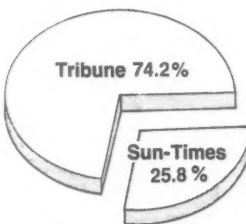
Tribune advertising

January-September, 1979

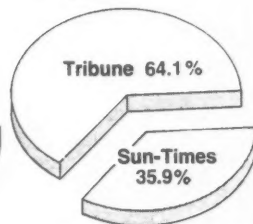
Total advertising linage share



Classified advertising linage share

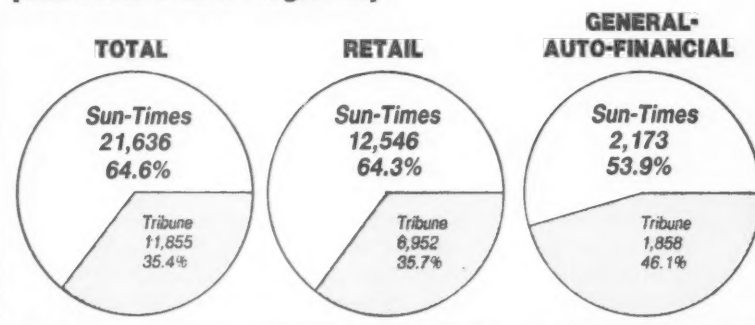


Display advertising linage share



Tribune pies depict totals in linage

Daily Advertising, First 9 Months of 1979, In Page Equivalents (Less Zone and Regional)



Sun-Times recipe calls for "page equivalents"

David Lieberman is a reporter with the Hartford Advocate.

A PROGRESS REPORT FROM THE WALL

The following letter, reprinted from The Wall Street Journal of January 7, 1980, carries forward a custom begun two years ago. It reflects our conviction that publishing The Journal is a public trust and that we are, first of all, accountable to our readers.

To the readers of The Wall Street Journal:

The decade of the 1970s was one of striking progress for The Wall Street Journal, thanks largely to your support. We enter the Eighties determined to improve and expand The Journal's news coverage and service to you in significant ways.

I want to share with you a few high points of the decade just ended and then tell you of The Journal's plans for the coming year and beyond.

- It was toward the end of the 1970s that The Journal became the nation's largest newspaper in circulation. It added roughly 100,000 in 1978, then another 160,000 in 1979, the largest gain in its history. Its circulation of 1,775,000 at the end of last year was about twice that of The New York Times, three times that of The Washington Post, and 80% of the combined circulation of Business Week, Fortune and Forbes.

- It was in the 1970s that The Journal became the first to publish by space satellite. To speed delivery to you, our national network of printing plants was increased from eight to twelve, and most were converted to send or receive images of each page transmitted via a satellite 22,000 miles over the equator.

- It was in the 1970s that The Journal leaped overseas, with the start of The Asian Wall Street Journal (whose own circulation was up 32% last year), and expansion of AP-Dow Jones' international economic wire services into 40 countries.

- It also was in the 1970s that The Journal leaped further into the electronic age by offering news from its pages, from Barron's, from the Dow Jones News Services and others for instant retrieval from a computer. This retrieval system, which has more than 8,500 subscriber terminals and is growing rapidly, makes us the world's largest provider to offices and homes of news-on-demand services.

- The Journal's goal—and that of its parent company, Dow Jones & Company—has never been to be biggest but rather to be best in the business news field—to excel in the quality and usefulness of the information and service it provides for you. To that end, The Journal's editors in the 1970s added new columns (such as Your Money Matters and the Manager's Journal), added a Board of Contributors to the editorial page, expanded coverage of leisure and the arts with a new op-ed page on Fridays and Mondays, increased international news coverage and added news bureaus at home and abroad. News bureaus in Minneapolis and Peking are the latest additions in The Journal's 25-bureau network.

As The Journal's circulation increased in the 1970s, the demographic characteristics of your fellow-readers were not diluted. On the contrary, The Journal more than ever before, is a paper on the move for men and women on the move. In terms of education, income (after inflation adjustments) and professional attainments, The Journal audience today is more dynamic and

successful than ever in the past. That's a prime reason why advertisers last year increased ad lineage more than 50% over as recent a year as 1975. The Journal has always had what's called a "class audience." Some might say that as the nation's largest newspaper it now can also claim a "mass audience"—with the unique distinction that The Journal's mass is all class.

LOOKING AHEAD TO THE 1980s.

As we move into a new decade, the 1980s—a decade in which both The Journal and Dow Jones & Company will mark their 100th birthdays—preparations are under way to try to discharge even more effectively our primary responsibility: to serve you, our readers, even better. Nothing is more important to The Journal and to Dow Jones than continuing, day in and day out, to earn and re-earn your confidence and trust.

Here are a few of our plans for 1980 and the period immediately beyond:

- Toward the middle of the year, news coverage will be extended and special columns added in fields ranging from real estate to regional trends. The space in the paper devoted to news will be increased about 10%. The aim will not be to add to your reading time; Journal editors, conscious of how much busier our readers are than most, work hard to be concise, to stick to essentials, to avoid imposing on your time with frills. The aim will be to give you more news you can use.

- Also toward the middle of the year The Journal's foreign news coverage will become more comprehensive, better organized—a reflection of the increasing impact of events overseas on American lives and American business.

STREET JOURNAL AS THE 1980s BEGIN.

- Other improvements will follow toward the end of the year or in early 1981, probably including expansion of editorial page opinion coverage to an op-ed page five days a week.

- To make delivery to you more efficient and to improve the quality of reproduction, new Wall Street Journal printing plants will be opened this year and next outside Chicago, at Bowling Green, Ohio, and at Sharon, Pa. Others are expected to be built later in Iowa and other parts of the country. These plans follow the opening of new printing plants in Orlando in 1975, Seattle in 1978, Denver in 1979.

- Private delivery of The Journal, outside the postal service, is being rapidly expanded, and by the end of 1983, we hope to serve 35% of our subscribers this way. The aim is to get the paper to you more promptly. The aim also is to get the paper to you more economically, helping us in the process to limit the price increases we are obliged to ask.

The Journal's annual postal bill during the decade of the Seventies rose from under \$6 million to more than \$38 million, due mostly to rate increases of 392%. And the cost continues to climb much more steeply than the consumer price index. We have not passed along to you the full impact of these increases; today 55% of what we charge you for a year's subscription goes to the postal service compared with 15% at the start of the 1970s. Journal subscription prices, including subscription price increases taking effect this month, since mid-1971 have risen less than the consumer price index.

As we look forward to the Eighties, there are many more wide-ranging challenges than postal inflation that will be carried over from the 1970s—most important the critical problems such as energy and inflation that confront all Americans. There is one other to which we

in the newspaper business appear more sensitive than the public at large.

THE ROLE OF THE PRESS.

The Seventies were marked by serious setbacks to the First Amendment rights of all Americans to be kept fully informed about their government and society. The Eighties promise new threats to these rights.

The past few years have seen courts authorize police searches of newsrooms, exclusion of the public and press from increasing numbers of trials and pretrial proceedings, and a multitude of efforts to compel newsmen, by subpoena and jail sentences, to disclose confidential sources on whom much news-gathering depends, particularly in the exposure of official corruption. Often this new censorship and intimidation have been encouraged by the acquiescence of a public increasingly cynical and suspicious of the press.

One of the challenges of the 1980s for all of us is to try to make two essential facts about the function of a free press more widely understood:

- All the talk about the First Amendment rights of the press is not about special privileges for newspaper reporters and publishers, but about rights of the public—the right to be kept informed, the right of the governed to have a surrogate watching the governors. The First Amendment wasn't drafted for the publishers' benefit but for the public's.

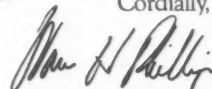
- And, when the Founding Fathers provided for a free press, when Jefferson and before him John Milton and John Stuart Mill argued for press freedom, they certainly never assumed the press would always perform well and act responsibly, would always know the truth

and tell the truth. In light of the low-quality press, the propaganda sheets of their day, they assumed we would have to suffer a goodly share of fools and rogues in the press. But they believed that through diversity, out of the vast welter of conflicting ideas that would be put before the public, the truth would emerge. And that it would emerge more effectively than through any efforts to impose standards of truth from the outside or through any other means yet devised. The evidence over 200 years—at the local courthouse level as well as at the broader levels of Vietnam and Watergate—is that the truth does indeed emerge in this fashion.

James Madison summed it up this way: "Some degree of abuse is inseparable from the proper use of everything, and in no instance is this more true than in that of the press. It has accordingly been decided... that it is better to leave a few of its noxious branches to their luxuriant growth, than, by pruning them away, to injure the vigor of those yielding the proper fruits."

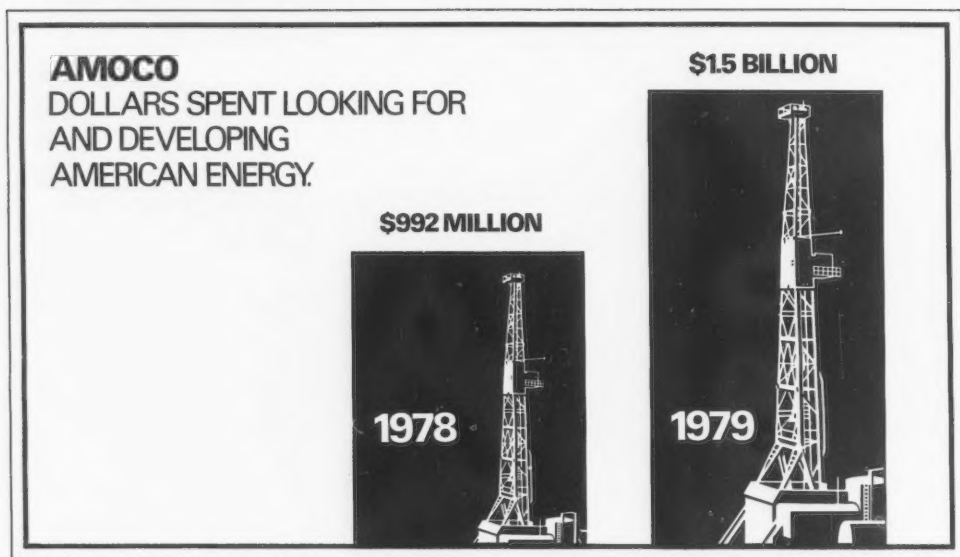
Now, more than 200 years later, we are entering a new decade in which the economic and political uncertainties at home and abroad and the complexities of government, society and technology are greater than ever before. The editors and staff of The Wall Street Journal are acutely conscious of our responsibility to provide you with the information and insights essential to understand and grapple with the issues of the Eighties—and to do so accurately and fairly. We are dedicated to being worthy of your trust and confidence.

Cordially,



Warren H. Phillips
Chairman and Chief Executive,
Dow Jones & Company
Publisher, The Wall Street Journal

How Amoco spent its money in 1979 finding oil and natural gas in America.



We helped drill more wells in the U.S. than ever before.

During this past year, Amoco Production Company helped drill 2,167 new oil and natural gas wells in this country—more than ever before. And our work has led to the discovery of substantial new reserves of oil and natural gas for America.

We've been a leader in some of the most active drilling areas in the United States in our search for new domestic energy. Areas like the Overthrust Belt in Utah and Wyoming, the Tuscaloosa Trend in Louisiana, and the Gulf of Mexico, where a single well can cost as much as \$7.5 million.

We spent 57% more than last year finding and developing oil and natural gas in the U.S.

In 1979 Amoco spent more than \$1.5 billion looking for and developing American energy. To give you an idea about what \$1.5 billion means: We spent an average of 4 million dollars per day, every day, during 1979. Our \$1.5 billion total is 57% more than last year's. In fact, we invested more money in 1979 in this country than we earned worldwide in 1979... nearly 48 million dollars more.

Most of this money was spent in searching for traditional oil and natural gas, but we put a lot of dollars into other forms of energy, too—like oil shale and gasohol.

We made 2.8¢ per gallon on the petroleum products we sold in the U.S.

You hear a lot these days about "excessive oil profits." But when you get right down to it, the amount of money we earn from each gallon of petroleum product sold is only about 2.8¢ per gallon. Earnings are vital to our business. They help us develop new supplies of American energy...and create jobs along the way. But most of the money you spend on gasoline is going right into the pockets of the foreign countries that supply crude oil.

We're paying more for foreign oil than ever before.

Foreign oil prices have risen dramatically in the last 12 months. At Amoco, we paid \$3.8 billion for foreign oil last year—\$1.5 billion more than we paid in 1978. And the amount of money America spent on foreign oil jumped from \$40 billion in 1978 to about \$60 billion last year; even though the amount of oil America actually

imported remained nearly the same. Right now, America imports nearly half the oil it uses. The only real answer to excessive foreign oil imports—and the damage this causes to America's economy—is to find and develop more American energy.

We want to outdo ourselves in 1980.

Our country's energy problem is still with us. It's a fact that conventional oil and natural gas will remain our country's primary fuels into the next century...but known reserves are being used up. We plan to spend even more in 1980 to drill more wells and make more progress in synthetic fuel development. We are going to do our best to help get you the energy you need.

America runs better on American oil.



weren't thinking, 'Ah ha, here's an opportunity to monopolize the media in Hartford,'" company president Robert Erburu told the PUCA. As in other Times Mirror operations, he said, the newspaper and cable divisions would be run as "autonomous subsidiaries." Times Mirror representatives also maintained that, as a common carrier, the cable system would not develop its own editorial voice and hence would not contribute to the centralization of information feared by critics of the company.

Erburu maintained that Times Mirror was willing to accept conditions on its cross-ownership, such as restrictions on combined ad rates and strict controls on editorial cross-fertilization. The opposition countered by arguing that the PUCA lacked the capacity to monitor Times Mirror compliance with such limitations. The company's failure to reveal its intentions to purchase the *Courant* itself, it was pointed out, violated a 1978 PUCA order that, in return for acquiring the cable franchises, the company inform it of any "contemplated acquisitions" of other media in the state. (At the time of the order, Times Mirror already owned two other dailies in Connecticut, the *Stamford Advocate* and the *Greenwich Time*.)

Outside of Connecticut, cable-newspaper cross-ownership has been the subject of local opposition in such cities as Salt Lake City, Providence, and South Bend. Times Mirror itself, which is the sixth largest cable operator in the country, with fifty major systems reaching 470,000 subscribers in thirteen states, cross-controls newspapers and cable franchises on Long Island, where it owns *Newsday*, as well as in the Los Angeles area.

The fiercest cross-ownership battleground has been Atlanta, where the Cox family has long controlled the *Atlanta Journal* and the *Constitution*, as well as the local cable system, a TV station, and two radio outlets. (The cable system will be sold to a Canadian company if a proposed merger between General Electric and Cox Broadcasting Company gains FCC approval.)

Appearing in Hartford in the Times Mirror case, Atlanta city councilman James Bond, who helped lead the drive against Cox, asked the PUCA to take into account the implications of the Atlanta experience. "Cox failed to develop the cable system in Atlanta during the five years in which it enjoyed a franchise," he testified. "For a relatively small investment . . . it was able to control the entire cable system in a major part of the city and prevent its full development as a competitor to its cross-owned enterprises."

More generally, says Bond, reached after testifying, "Cross control is getting to be more and more common, and they [the cross-owners] absolutely dictate what you hear and see." *David Lieberman*

Portugal: Polls 1, Pals 0

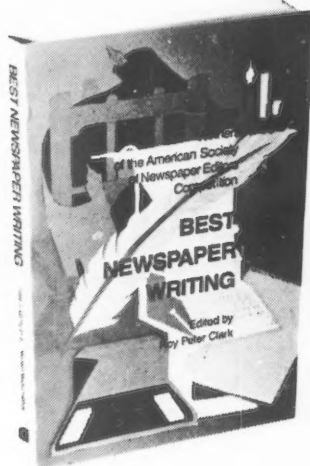
Ever since Roper, political candidates and pundits alike have been unable to imagine a campaign without opinion polls. But in Portugal recently, the unimaginable almost materialized when Parliament passed a law banning the publication of polls in the months before

*Portuguese cheer centrist victory:
you can't keep a good poll down*



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elections. With last December's parliamentary contests in full swing, it took a canny newspaper editor to find a way around the law's intent—but even he may yet have to pay its penalties.

On May 16, 1979, the Portuguese parliament passed a law that "prohibits the publication of the results of polls or inquiries related to the attitude of electors toward the candidates" during a political campaign. The measure, which did not outlaw the polls themselves, was sponsored by the Socialist and Communist parties (forming a majority in parliament), which contended, as have American critics of polling, that the surveys influence, rather than merely reflect, public opinion.

The opposition Social Democrats, the principal centrist party, voted against the measure, characterizing it as a self-protective maneuver supported by parties anxious to conceal their loss of popular support. Editors throughout the country were soon up in arms over the ban, claiming, in the words of Mario Mesquita, editor of *Diario de Noticias*, Portugal's leading daily, that it "is not only contrary to the habits of democratic countries, but also creates a type of black market of in-

formation."

Among those most offended by the law was Nuno Rocha, editor of the independent weekly *Tempo*, published in Lisbon. A reporter in northern Portugal at the time of the 1974 revolution, Rocha had been jailed briefly by the radical military government when he tried to set up an independent newspaper in 1975. He now resolved to challenge what he viewed as a new form of censorship violating the 1976 constitution, which guarantees freedom of expression.

With the support of three other Portuguese newspapers—*Correia da Manhã*, *A Tarde*, and *Comercio do Porto*—and the Madrid daily *Diario 16*, Rocha commissioned a poll from Norma/Gallup, the Portuguese division of the American polling firm. Its two surveys, conducted in the five weeks prior to the December 2 election, pointed to a shift away from the left toward the center.

On both occasions, the four Portuguese papers—attempts to circumvent the law without violating its letter—published front-page stories about the polls that omitted actual numbers but referred readers to Madrid's *Diario 16*, where the results were printed in full. Rocha simul-

taneously arranged with his friend Juan Tomas de Salas, the editor of *Diario 16*, to have thousands of copies of both editions trucked across the border into Portugal. There they rapidly sold out.

The anti-polling law, Rocha wrote in a Spanish news magazine soon after the election, was "thus shown to be ridiculous. . . . We must not have in Portugal any more laws that prohibit electoral public opinion polls. It cannot be otherwise in a democratic country such as Portugal wishes to be, even if it costs a year in jail for several editors of Portuguese newspapers."

The maneuver could indeed be that costly, depending on whether the government decides to prosecute Rocha for what some officials feel was a clear violation. But the editors are hopeful: the polls the Socialists and Communists were so intent on prohibiting turned out to be only too accurate—the leftist parties lost their majority to a center-right alliance anchored by the party that had fought the law.

Kenneth Maxwell

Kenneth Maxwell is an associate professor of history at Columbia University.

Did you call State Farm last year for help on a story? Over 400 other reporters did.

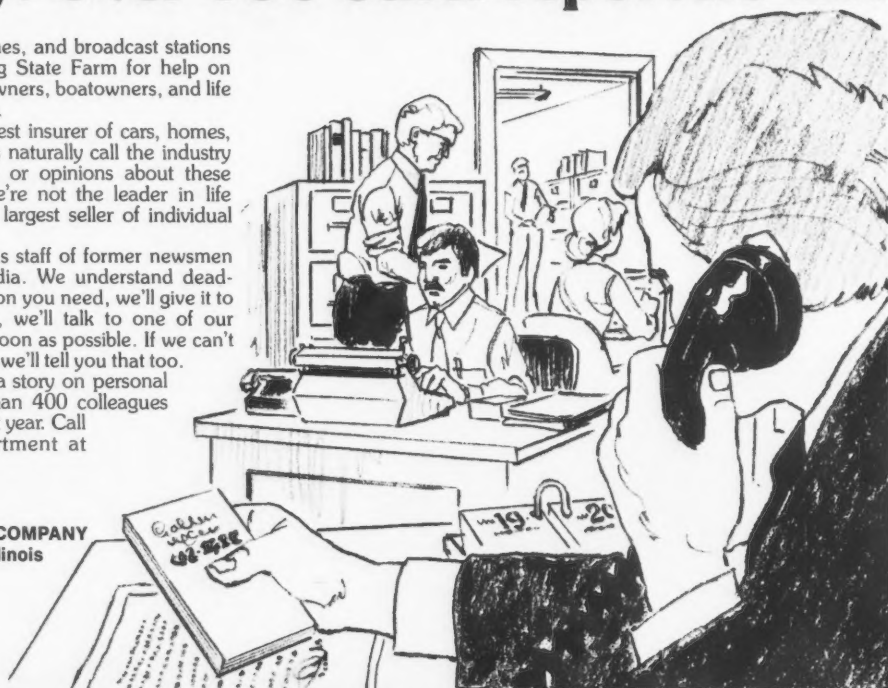
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UPI's Joe Galloway (right) with the Seventh Cavalry in Vietnam, 1965: yesterday the trenches, today the tube

BUREAU

Can a wire service bureau make a splash in the Nielsen ratings? CBS programmers are hoping it can when a new comedy series, planned for the fall, chronicles the exploits of a Saigon wire bureau during the Vietnam War.

If it receives final approval from the network this spring, *Bureau*, as it is tentatively titled, will attempt to rescue wire service reporters from obscurity by featuring an aggressive, sardonic correspondent who works for an agency cast in the mold of the AP and UPI. Inspired by the success of *Lou Grant*'s newsroom drama and of *M*A*S*H*'s Korean War antics, the new series will attempt to treat serious journalism issues with more than a dash of battlefield humor. *Bureau*, which would be among the first series to be set in Vietnam, is said to be tied closely to the history of the war, presenting a relatively faithful, if humorous, look at the problems faced by reporters who covered it.

"There's a lot of strength to be found in the journalistic dilemmas reporters found over there," says Gary Goldberg, creator of *Bureau* for MTM Enterprises in Los Angeles, which is developing the program for CBS. "It's all fertile territory for us." Typical segments treat the antagonism between correspondents and their stateside editors, the war's effects on those who covered it, and the difficulty reporters had in confirming claims made by the American military.

The pilot episode, for instance, to be filmed in March at CBS Studio Center in Los Angeles, will examine the tension that marked military briefings. Report-

ers in the segment challenge a briefing officer's denial that B-52 raids have taken place into Laos and dispute his claim that, despite the fact that more bodies than guns have been recovered, no civilians had been killed in a recent battle. "I made up the briefing, but the reality was much stronger than anything I could dream up," says Goldberg, who won an

Emmy last year as a coproducer for a season of *Lou Grant*. Throughout the series, he adds, "We will try to be truthful to time, will have stories plotted in the right sequence, and will make references to real people."

Bureau will be MTM's third series pegged to journalism for CBS, following *The Mary Tyler Moore Show* and *Lou Grant*, but, says MTM president Grant Tinker, "I think there'll be more journalism in this half hour." To assure verisimilitude in the operations of the fictional newsroom, MTM has signed on Joe Galloway, UPI's Los Angeles bureau chief and a Saigon correspondent in 1965 and 1966, as a technical consultant.

Bureau may not enshrine the AP and UPI as *All the President's Men* did *The Washington Post*. But at the moment CBS appears to be encouraged by the show's potential as both a prestige production and a ratings success. "There's always a risk in approaching the Vietnam thing," says Andy Siegel, CBS vice president for comedy development. "But we think this show will appeal to the same audience as *M*A*S*H* does." If Siegel is right, the wires may never be the same. ■



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PUBLISHER'S NOTES

About this issue

In a long editing career, this writer developed strong feelings that a publisher should restrain most of his impulses to intervene in the editing process. Moreover, magazines should not go too far in telling authors what they should or should not say in by-lined analyses or opinion articles.

Neither of these restraints, however, precludes this publisher from expressing views about parts of this issue. To be specific:

□ The article on Iran and the Islamic world by Edward W. Said (page 23) is thoughtful and well-written. It makes certain valid points that can serve as a corrective to some of the reporting from the area. However, we happen to believe—as do some of the editors—that Said overstates his case in some respects, downplays the monstrous nature of seizing an embassy and staff, and confuses world outrage at the offense with press hostility to the Iranian revolution in general. We also suggest that he is a bit unjust to certain journalists, notably the able Flora Lewis.

□ The piece on *The Wall Street Journal* (page 34) chides that worthy paper for putting a rather august byline above flocks of company press releases. It should be added that many *Journal* readers want to see company announcements.

□ Todd Gitlin's article on the news media and the old Students for a Democratic Society supplies interesting specifics on how an organization can become more "extreme" as its leaders, seeking to attract attention, sensationalize their words and their deeds. It is a valid thesis and is well presented. We question, however, whether the article blames media standards too much for the sins of notoriety-seekers and whether the SDS was ever as "democratic" as Gitlin implies.

□ As evident in the letters on page 71, some readers vehemently protest Garry Wills's article in the last issue on media coverage of the papal visit.

This writer yields to no one in admiration for Pope John Paul II but must admit that he did not view the article as offensive. Rather, it seemed to deal fairly with the difficult question of how journalists should report on a beloved holy man.

We should stress again that the *Review* does not pretend to endorse every view expressed by its authors' signed articles. An original aim of the magazine was to "provide a forum for thoughtful discussion by journalists and observers" and "to encourage debate." It is in this spirit that both the articles and the above observations are offered. There doubtless will be more debate in the next issue.

Press counterattack

The National News Council's last report (CJR, January/February) contained a novel complaint—one filed by journalists against nonjournalists. In it United Press International accused the Synanon Foundation of a "pattern of intimidation designed to suppress all stories the cult considered unfavorable."

As earlier mentioned in this column, there has been a modest decline in conventional complaints filed with the News Council. This doubtless reflects the working off of a backlog of real or imagined grievances against news organizations. The UPI case utilizes a new avenue that should be employed increasingly in the future. There are multiple cases where news media themselves are justified in feeling aggrieved: cases of governmental bodies shutting out public and press from hearings that should be open; cases of corporations and labor unions giving out information that is misleading, if not downright deceptive; and cases (like that protested by UPI) of using a barrage of lawyers' letters threatening libel suits as a device to prevent disclosure of unpleasant facts.

Few large organizations can be intimidated in this way, but many a small newspaper or radio or television station shies away from expensive litigation.

UPI deserves a salute for opening up this issue.

Shop talk

With restrained joy, we can say that perseverance and reader confidence are paying off for the *Review*. With a solid circulation of some 34,000, the magazine is experiencing a steady improvement in its subscription renewal rate. Experienced readers ("renewed before" in circulation parlance) were renewing at an 80 percent rate in our last tabulation.

Advertising volume is improving. Total ad pages in 1979 were 15 percent above the total for 1978, despite a rate increase. Ad revenue was up by 30 percent. And all of this has helped the *Review* to become the only media-monitoring magazine that has been operating in the black.

The margin, of course, is slim. Inflation has made it necessary to raise the subscription and newsstand price for the first time in five years. Yet the improved income is making possible gradual strengthening of the editorial operation. And all hands are convinced that the *Review's* mission is more important than ever, that flagging the shoddy and saluting the worthy in all news media can help raise standards, and that improved journalism is indispensable to improved functioning of democracy.

Uplift department

A fascinating item in early 1980 was the news that the sensationalist national tabloid, *The Star*, had sued its equally jazzy rival, *Midnight Globe*, for \$1,000,000 over soothsaying columns of the Jeane Dixon stripe. It all recalls somehow the boyhood experience of watching two alley cats fight over a fish head.

E.W.B.

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| <input type="checkbox"/> Bathinettes | <input type="checkbox"/> Artificial limbs | <input type="checkbox"/> Slacks | | | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Records | <input type="checkbox"/> Rain hats | <input type="checkbox"/> Hampers | | | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Typewriter ribbons | <input type="checkbox"/> Bandages | <input type="checkbox"/> Lighting panels | | | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Footballs | <input type="checkbox"/> Dentures | <input type="checkbox"/> Yarn | | | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Disposable lighters | <input type="checkbox"/> Belts | <input type="checkbox"/> Jars | | | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Doorknobs | <input type="checkbox"/> Tonges | <input type="checkbox"/> Stools | | | |

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COMMENT

Showing the flag

The etymologists among us were quick to announce the death of journalistic "Afghanistanism" after the Red Army took up residence in Kabul in December. Defining the term loosely to denote "too much interest in foreign affairs," William Safire quoted Turner Catledge, former executive editor of *The New York Times*, to drive the nail into the coffin. "You can't talk about 'Afghanistanism' any more," he said.

Unfortunately, one can. For although recent events may have demolished the journalistic notion that there is such a thing as "too much interest" in foreign news, these same events have confirmed another "Afghanistanism," more venerable and even more significant: the nineteenth century British policy of promoting concord at home by offering the spectacle of confrontations abroad (notably, the First Afghan War, 1838 to 1842, which, by the way, the British lost).

We can appreciate the impact of this other Afghanistanism by recalling what our president said to us about ourselves on two recent occasions. "I want to talk to you right now about a fundamental threat to American democracy," he told us in his July 15 energy speech, delivered in the aftermath of his troubled Camp David summit. "We can see this crisis in . . . the loss of a unity of purpose for our nation." Six months later, after the hostages had been seized in Teheran and after Afghanistan had been invaded, our temper was very different, we were informed. "Our nation," he told us in his State of the Union address, "has never been aroused and unified so greatly in peacetime." In the summer, discord and drift. In the winter, unity. Between the two seasons, Iran. And, throughout, we should add, the press.

Journalists played a considerable part in shaping national sentiment during these months. Because the predicament of the hostages and the images of conflict were galvanizing in and of themselves, even the most matter-of-fact reporting heightened nationalistic feelings and built patriotic energies. Edward W. Said argues elsewhere in this issue, moreover, that the press did considerably more than offer matter-of-fact accounts. Insofar as journalists performed as Said says they did, they further contributed to the creation of the new national mood.

But there is more at issue here than the literal accuracy of the reporting on Iran, important as that may be. There is the further question of what, in *Public Opinion*, Walter Lippmann called the "aura of suggestion as to how we ought to feel about the news." Here are examples of how the Iran story received its aura:

□ Scott Miller, program director at WOBL in Oberlin, Ohio, had himself bound from noon until 3 P.M. every day "to draw attention to the hostages."

□ Alex Paen, in Teheran as a correspondent for Los Angeles radio station KMPC, not only reported the news but launched the campaign that eventually delivered hundreds of thousands of Christmas cards to the hostages.

□ Dozens of stations around the country not only aired news broadcasts about Iran but joined the Christmas card drive: among others, WNBC (New York), WRKO (Boston), WIND (Chicago), WTVR (Detroit), KSFO (San Francisco), WPMC (Memphis), KFQD (Anchorage).

□ The San Angelo, Texas, *Standard Times* mounted a "Show Iran We Mean Business" campaign that culminated on December 11, when the paper printed a "Let Our People Go" iron-on transfer on page one.

□ Scores of newspapers printed page-one editorials on the Iranian situation (the *Dayton Daily News*, the *Pensacola, Florida, News-Journal*, among them) and solicited Christmas cards and letters (*The Atlanta Journal*, the *St. Petersburg Independent*, *The Phoenix Gazette*, *The Charlotte Observer*).

Overall, however, the American flag dominated what the *Gannett* called "community involvement outside regular news coverage of the crisis" (in which a score of Gannett papers took part). Papers with flags already on their mastheads ran them upside-down as a signal of distress (the *Addison, Illinois, Leader*). Papers without masthead flags acquired them (the *Binghamton, New York, Evening Press*). Dozens of papers printed flags in their columns (in possible violation of

Iran-crisis memorabilia



the Federal Flag Code, which prohibits the reproduction of the flag on "anything that is designed for temporary use and discard") and urged readers to display them (the Waynesboro, Georgia, *True Citizen*, *The San Diego Union*, the Dublin, Georgia, *Courier-Herald*). The Fort Myers, Florida, *News-Press* not only ran a four-color, double-truck Old Glory, but also gave away "Fly the Flag" bumper stickers.

The news on Iran, in short, appeared in an editorial environment already determined by the deployment of a potent symbol (the flag) and by the promotion of symbolic acts (flying the flag, sending cards and letters). This symbolic aura suggested—in Lippmann's terms—how we ought to feel about (and understand) the news that appeared within it. Principally, it seems, we were being encouraged to rally 'round. Thus, an editorial in the *Fort Myers News-Press* urged us to "fly the flag at this time—as a symbol of the solidarity of the American public in a time of international crisis." R. Peter Straus, board chairman of New York's WMCA—which distributed more than 100,000 armbands during November and December—offered the most ambitious claim for the imperative of solidarity. The armband slogan UNITY IS STRENGTH, he said, represented "a recapturing of the essence of the American republic."

Lippmann had warned us about this sort of thing. "The symbol is both a mechanism of solidarity, and a mechanism of exploitation," he wrote. And so it was here. For by trying to create a consensus, by trying to bring us together through the symbols they pressed upon us, the news media compromised their mandate to inform. The symbolic aura tainted the news, even as it led to claims—such as Straus's—that impoverished the meaning of the American republic (whose essence, surely, was never mere unity).

If, as a result of such journalistic activity, we were united, we were not thereby enlightened—nor was our unified consent informed. For the aura in which reporting appeared often drained the meaning from the news itself, and reduced it to a caricature of events. The flag-rich symbolic universe deployed around the news imparted a reassuring lucidity to baffling and troubling events, but at the expense of denying the complexity of the situation. Finally, in the last act of this drama of Afghanism, the symbols—particularly the flag—came to displace the events themselves. The aura took over from the news, and an ultimate clarity came to seem within reach:

BARBARA WALTERS [on the December 12 ABC *America Held Hostage* broadcast]: You had told me that you've had a little time to do some thinking, and that you found some rather unusual coincidences.

MRS. MOREHEAD KENNEDY [the wife of a hostage]: Yes. Where the hostages are concerned, I woke up one morning, and I suddenly thought—there are fifty hostages at the moment in the U.S. compound in Teheran. There are thirteen

ex-hostages back in the United States, and we have three U.S. diplomats presently confined in the foreign ministry in Teheran. I thought about those numbers for a moment, and I suddenly realized that they symbolized the flag, Old Glory. Old Glory has fifty stars, thirteen stripes, and three colors—red, white, and blue.

And I feel in this matter that hostages they may be, but guardians of our flag they are.

In a matter of weeks, then, the press had succeeded in transforming the significance of what was happening in Iran. Exploitation of the flag had drained the historical and political meaning from events and, in hands such as Walters's, had recreated them as nothing more than a symbol of the symbol.

The CIA: get the leash on

On January 23, attempts to reform the CIA—which for more than two decades had used hundreds of press "assets" for its own purposes—ended with a Cold War snap. On that day, President Carter declared in his State of the Union message that "we need to remove unwarranted restraints on America's ability to collect intelligence." Calling for quick passage of a new charter for the nation's intelligence agencies, he added: "We will guarantee that abuses do not occur."

The president did not reveal how he could guarantee that the CIA, freed of all "unwarranted" restraints, would not abuse its freedom. Nor did he spell out which restraints he considered unwarranted. He did so a week later, however, during the course of a January 30 meeting with the chief author of a proposed new intelligence charter, Senator Walter D. Huddleston, chairman of the subcommittee on charters and guidelines of the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence.

Among the restraints Carter opposed was any flat prohibition on the CIA's use of journalists as intelligence agents. The Huddleston charter had included a subsection to this effect; it was dropped. A Huddleston aide says that the White House also strongly objected to a subsection in the charter which states that no intelligence entity may use any United States media organization "for the purpose of establishing or maintaining cover for any officer of that entity." This, too, may be dropped from the bill's final version.

While Carter was gutting Huddleston's charter, friends of the CIA in the Senate were pushing for the passage of a less comprehensive and even more permissive bill. Sponsored by Senators Daniel P. Moynihan and Malcolm Wallop, among others, it would by and large exempt the CIA from the Freedom of Information Act, make it a crime to reveal the identity of intelligence agents or sources, and provide for criminal sanctions against the press if it acted with intent to impair or impede intelligence activities. This bill—in effect, an official secrets act—stands a much better chance of getting through Congress than does Huddleston's codified charter.

The present rush to "unleash" the CIA means that there is a good chance that, before long, CIA-press relations will be returned to the *status quo ante*. For congressmen and journalists who have forgotten the excesses committed by the CIA in its heyday, the following may serve as an aide memoire:

□ In an early round-up which appeared in this magazine (Stuart Loory's "The CIA's Use of the Press: A 'Mighty Wurlitzer,'" *CJR*, September/October 1974), Loory cited agency efforts to plant false or misleading news stories in world-wide news services and "CIA contracts with some 30 journalists (by the agency's own count) who work overseas as stringers, free-lance writers and full-time correspondents for small publications."

□ Three years later, in a *Rolling Stone* article, Carl Bernstein was able to cite a grand total of "more than 400 American journalists who in the past twenty-five years have secretly carried out assignments for the Central Intelligence Agency." Bernstein was also able to cite details of the close contacts between that agency and several prestigious news organizations, including CBS, *The New York Times*, *Time*, and *Newsweek*, and of the role played by CIA-connected journalists in toppling the elected government of President Salvador Allende in Chile.

□ In a series of articles on the CIA that ran in the winter of 1977, *New York Times* reporter John M. Crewdson noted, among a myriad of other findings: "The C.I.A. has at various times owned or subsidized more than 50 newspapers, news services, radio stations, periodicals and other communications entities . . . that were used as vehicles for its extensive propaganda efforts, as 'cover' for its operatives or both." The jump head of the first piece in the series pointed up one of the agency's goals: C.I.A. ATTEMPTED TO SHAPE PUBLIC OPINION TOWARD U.S. POLICY OVER THREE DECADES.

Time and again, the rationale given by those who agreed to cooperate with the CIA was that they believed they were serving their country by so doing. It seems to us self-evident that journalists can best serve their country, not by covertly working for a government agency or by allowing such agencies the benefit of journalistic cover, but by fulfilling their obligation to inform the public. To do more can only endanger the lives of journalists who may be suspected of being affiliated with the CIA, blur the distinction between government and press, and greatly damage the press's credibility at home and abroad.

We believe that the press, in its own interests and in those of the nation, as well, should vigorously oppose legislation that would allow the CIA—or any other intelligence agency—to subvert its integrity.

Darts and laurels

Laurel: to New York's WMCA radio talk-show host Sally Jesse Raphael, for exercising firm control in her January 8 interview with a formerly fat guest who had lost a hundred pounds—and who, it turned out, was a paid lecturer for Weight Watchers. "I'm gonna throw the lady off the show," the betrayed Raphael an-

nounced stoutly to her listeners. "I thought she was a civilian. I was misled. I apologize to you. We're going to continue the program without her."

Laurel: to the *San Francisco Examiner* and reporter James A. Finefrock, for "The Pension Payout." The five-part series (starting November 26) on abuses of the retirement system for municipal employees has led to official investigations and proposals for reform.

Laurel: to the *Straight Creek Journal*. In a January 10 story by editor Ron Wolf, the Colorado alternative weekly disclosed that *Denver Post* publisher Donald R. Seawell has been lobbying public officials to approve a plan for a park adjacent to his pet project, the Denver Center for the Performing Arts. According to the *Journal*, Seawell has been pushing the plan—which, incidentally, calls for the rerouting of ten lanes of traffic through the city's university complex—with thinly veiled references to the power of the *Post*.

Laurel: to *The Economist*. The British import (November 17-23) carried a sharp analysis of present attempts to destroy the labor movement in America (which was, implicitly, an indictment of labor reporting here as well).

Dart: to the *Santa Rosa Press Democrat*, for failing to read its own news reports. After printing on December 7 a ten-paragraph story which discredited a completely false rumor that two men had been killed when butane cigarette lighters exploded in their pockets, the paper two days later picked up a fresh UPI story reporting the very same tale. As the first of the stories had sagely noted, "some rumors die hard."

Laurel: to *The Detroit News* and reporter Douglas Ilka, for pursuing reports that the incidence of cancer among workers in the woodworking shops of General Motors and Chrysler is alarmingly high. The extended series (beginning November 4) not only turned up enough evidence to spark inquiries by the companies, the unions, state health agencies, and NIOSH, but also raised serious questions about the relationship between the automakers and the Michigan Cancer Foundation, whose experts regularly testify on their behalf.

Laurel: to Boston's public television station WGBH-TV, for its January "World" report, "Hot Shells." The documentary raised important questions about the involvement of the State Department, the Pentagon, and the CIA in the delivery of military equipment and nuclear technology to South Africa in 1977, when the White House was supporting strong sanctions against the sale of weapons to that country.

Laurel: to *The New York Times* and reporters John M. Crewdson, Bernard Weinraub, and Howard Blum, for the five-part series (starting January 3), "The Tarnished Door: Crisis in Immigration." Crossing into the netherworld of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, the investigation revealed a hopeless landscape of bungling, brutality, and corruption in the federal agency, which each year comes into contact with more human beings than any other. ■

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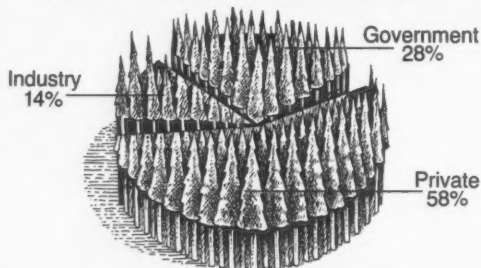
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Commercial forest, as defined by the U.S. Forest Service, is *all* forestland — whether owned by individuals, government or the forest industry — that is capable of, and potentially available for, growing repeated

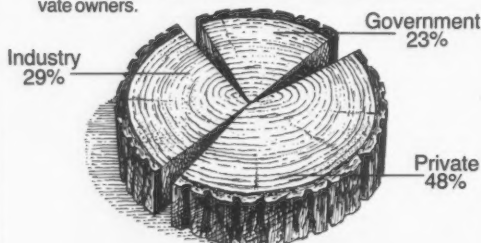
Who owns America's commercial forests?

Commercial forest acreage owned by the forest industry, government, and non-industrial private owners.



And how much do they produce?

Annual harvest from commercial forests owned by the forest industry, government, and non-industrial private owners.



Source: U.S. Forest Service

crops of trees for harvest. It includes land in National Forests but not in National Parks or Wilderness areas.

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IRAN

From a distinguished scholar, a provocative assessment
of U.S. coverage of the crisis in Iran.

The press has gone to war, he writes, as journalists present 'Islam' and Iran
as forces of darkness in a Manichaean clash between good and evil

by EDWARD W. SAID

I. Islam rising

For more than a year, with increasing anxiety and passion, Americans have been acutely conscious of Iran. Few nations so distant and different from ours have so intensely engaged us. Never have we seemed so paralyzed, so powerless to stop one dramatic event after another from happening. And never, in all this, could we put Iran out of mind, since on so many levels the country impinged on our lives with a defiant obtrusiveness. Iran was a major oil supplier during a period of energy scarcity. Lying in a region of the world that is volatile and strategically vital, it was an important ally. It lost its imperial regime, its army, and its value in our global calculations during a year of tumultuous revolutionary upheaval, unprecedented on so huge a scale since October 1917. A new order, Islamic, popular, anti-imperialist, was struggling to be born. Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini's image and presence took over the media, which failed to make much of him except that he was obdurate, powerful, and deeply angry at the United States. Finally, as a result of the ex-shah's entry into this country in November, the United States Embassy in Teheran was occupied by a group of students; many hostages were taken. The crisis continues as this is written.

Even this rapid summary fails to convey anything of the seething passions Iran has aroused in Americans,

Edward W. Said, Parr Professor of English and Comparative Literature at Columbia University, is the author of Orientalism and The Question of Palestine. He is a member of the Palestine National Council. Douglas Baldwin, Philip Shehadi, and Randy Baker assisted with research for this article.

passions aroused chiefly and justifiably by the deeply insulting and unlawful siege of the embassy and heightened, less justifiably, by the incredibly detailed, highly focused media attention given to the event. It is one thing to know that members of our embassy's staff have been seized and that we seem powerless to free them; it is quite another to watch this story unfolding night after night on prime-time television. We have reached a point where we need to evaluate critically the meaning of the "Iran story," as it has been called, to understand its presence in our lives rationally and dispassionately. We must start to take stock of what Iran has been to us, how it has looked, how it has been literally re-presented to us by the news media day after day.

Throughout the period, it became evident that the Iranians were attempting to use the media to what they considered their advantage, a consideration certainly not lost on the networks. Indeed, on occasion Iranian officials indicated that it was their plan to turn the American people against the policy of their own government. This was a bad miscalculation. But what will be discussed here is not how Iranians misunderstood Americans, but how Americans, through the news media, took the measure of Iran.

Hovering like some immense yet scarcely visible monster over much of the most dramatic news of the past decade, including not only Iran but the Arab-Israeli conflict, oil, and Afghanistan, has been "Islam." Nowhere has this been more evident than in the long Iranian crisis, during which the American consumer of

news has been provided a sustained diet of information about a religion—no more than a poorly defined and badly misunderstood abstraction, really—always, without exception, represented as militant, dangerous, anti-American. Further back, in the public's subliminal cultural consciousness, there was a longstanding attitude of hostility to Islam, to the Arabs and the Orient in general, all of it part of a tradition from which is derived much of what is represented as Islamic/Iranian/Arab in the news media and in elite culture alike. Whether one looks in such recent high-brow fiction as V.S. Naipaul's *A Bend in the River* and John Updike's *The Coup*, or at grade-school textbooks, comic strips, television, or films, the iconography of Islam is uniformly the same: oil suppliers, terrorists, mobs. Conversely, there is very little place either in the culture generally, or in discourse about non-Westerners in particular, to speak of, think about, much less to portray, Islam or anything Islamic sympathetically. (Most people asked to name a modern Islamic writer would probably be able only to pick Kahlil Gibran—who wasn't Islamic.) Almost to a man or woman, the academic experts treat the religion and its various cultures within an ideological framework remarkably filled with passion, defensive prejudice, sometimes even revulsion. And to judge from the reporting of the Iranian revolution last spring, there was no inclination to accept the revolution itself as anything other than a defeat for the U.S. (which in a very specific sense, of course, it was), or as a victory of dark over light.

It was as if discriminations between religious passion, a struggle for a just cause, ordinary human weakness, political competition, and the history of men, women, and societies seen as the history of men, wom-

en, and societies, could not be made when Islam was dealt with. "Islam" engulfed them all, reduced them all to a special malevolent essence. Instead of analysis and understanding, as a result, there could only be the crudest form of antagonism. Whatever Iranians or Moslems said about their sense of justice, their history of oppression, their vision of their own societies seemed irrelevant; what counted for us instead was what the "Islamic revolution" did right now, how many people were executed by the komitehs, how many bizarre outrages the ayatollah, in the name of Islam, ordered. Of course, no one equated the Jonestown massacre, or the destructive frenzy produced at the Who concert in Cincinnati, with Christianity; that sort of equation was reserved exclusively for Islam.

Why was it that political events seemed reducible in so Pavlovian a way to the peculiarities of Islam? Mainly because the news media, as well as governmental and academic experts, seemed to have agreed implicitly not to recognize political developments as political but to represent them as a cosmic drama pitting civilization as we like it against the uncivilized and the barbaric. In such a way history could be simplified, along with social processes, everyday reality, and the humanity of other people whose interests did not happen to coincide with ours. The result tells more about our society, its apparatus for producing and diffusing information, and its perception of things than it does about what was being reported. It also raises enormous political and moral questions about past, present, and future U.S. foreign policy, and about the role of the news media in contemporary Western society.

'The news media seemed to have agreed to represent political developments as a cosmic drama pitting civilization as we like it against the uncivilized and the barbaric'

Outside the American Embassy in November



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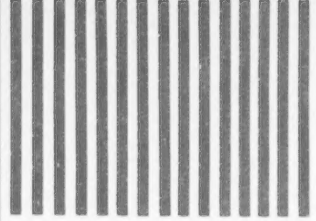
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II. America at bay

To sift through the immense amount of material generated by the embassy occupation in Teheran on November 4, 1979, is to be struck by a number of things. For one, it seemed that "we" were at bay, and, with "us," the normal, democratic, rational order of things. Out there, writhing in self-provoked frenzy, was "Islam," whose manifestation of the hour was a disturbingly neurotic Iran.

The press found plenty of evidence to substantiate this view. On November 7 the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* printed the proceedings of a seminar held in St. Louis on Iran and the Persian Gulf. One participating expert was quoted as saying that "the loss of Iran to an Islamic form of government was the greatest setback the United States has had in recent years." Islamic self-governance, in other words, is by definition inimical to U.S. interests. *The Wall Street Journal* editorialized on November 20 that "civilization is receding" due to "the decline of the Western powers that spread these [civilized] ideals to begin with," as if not to be Western—which is the fate of most of the world's population, and Islam's to boot—is not to have had any civilized ideals. All the major TV commentators, Walter Cronkite and Frank Reynolds chief among them, spoke of "anti-Americanism" or more poetically of "the crescent of crisis, sweeping across the world of Islam like a cyclone hurtling across a prairie," as ABC's Reynolds put it on November 21; on December 7 he voiced over a picture of crowds chanting "God is great" with what he supposed was the crowd's true sentiment, "hatred of America."

If we were thus at bay, it became necessary to attack our antagonists, to deprecate their beliefs and belittle their customs. Later in the same December broadcast, ABC informed us that the prophet Mohammed was "a self-proclaimed prophet" (which prophet hasn't been?) and then reminded us that "Ayatollah" was "a self-styled twentieth-century title" meaning "reflection of God" (both, unfortunately, not completely accurate accounts). The ABC short (three-minute) course on Islam was held in place with small titles to the right of the picture, and they told the same story of how resentment, suspicion, and contempt were proper for "Islam," which was reduced to a rush of images and symbols: Mecca, Purdah, Chador, Sunni, Shi'ite (accompanied by a picture of young men beating themselves), Mullah, Ayatollah, Khomeini, Iran. Soon after this rapid-fire sequence, the program switched to Jamesville, Wisconsin, whose admirably wholesome schoolchildren—no purdah, self-flagellation, or mullahs here—were organizing a patriotic "Unity Day."

After more than a year's worth of journalistic enterprise on the subject—which included the December 11 publication of a symposium of scholars and experts—any lingering doubts about what we were to think about Islam were cleared up when, in the last four days in December, *The New York Times* published a

series of long articles by Flora Lewis, all attempting a serious treatment of UPSURGE IN ISLAM, in the words of the running head. (*The New Republic* had already gone to the limit in the rhetoric of headlines, tying together two December 8 articles by Walter Laqueur and Michael Walzer with "The Holy Wars of Islam.") There are some excellent things in Lewis's pieces—for example, her success in delineating complexity and diversity—but there are serious weaknesses, too, most of them inherent in the way Islam is viewed nowadays. Not only did Lewis single out Islam from other religions in the Middle East (the upsurge in Judaism and Egyptian or Lebanese Christianity, for instance, was scarcely mentioned), but she went on to make statements, in particular in her third story, about the Arabic language (quoting expert opinion that its poetry is "rhetorical and declamatory, not intimate and personal") and the Islamic mind (an inability to employ "step-by-step thinking") that would be considered either racist or nonsensical if used to describe any other language, religion, or combination of ethnic groups. Too frequently her authorities were orientalists well known for their rancorous general views: one of them, Elie Kedourie, of the London School of Economics, is quoted as saying that "the disorder of the east is deep and endemic"; Bernard Lewis, the Princeton orientalist, pronounces on "the end of free speculation and research" in the Islamic world, presumably as a result of Islam's "static" as well as its "determinist, occasionalist and authoritarian" theology. One could not be expected to get a coherent view of Islam after reading Flora Lewis—her scurrying about in sources and her unfamiliarity with the subject give her readers the sense of a scavenger hunt for a subject that wasn't one to begin with; after all, how could one get hold of the remarkably varied history, geography, social structure, and culture of forty Islamic nations and 800,000,000 people whose words "are an expression of wish rather than a description of fact"? The point about Islam was made, anyway, that even if "it" wasn't clear at all, one's attitudes toward it were.

There were subtler ways to incriminate "Islam." One was to put an expert before the public and have him or her suggest that Khomeini was not really "representative of Islamic clergy" (this was L. Dean Brown, former U.S. ambassador to Jordan and special envoy to Lebanon and now president of the Middle East Institute, speaking on *The MacNeil/Lehrer Report*, November 16), that the "ironclad" mullah was a throwback to an earlier (obviously Islamic) age, and that the mobs in Teheran were reminiscent of Nuremberg, just as the street demonstrations were signs of the "circus as principal entertainment" habitually provided by dictators.

Another method was to suggest invisible lines connecting various other Middle Eastern things to Iranian Islam, then to damn them together, implicitly or explicitly, depending on the case. When former Sena-

'Was there no Iranian history or society to write and speak about that *wasn't* translatable into the anthropomorphisms of a crazy Iran gratuitously taunting good-guy America?'

A blindfolded hostage is paraded on the day of the takeover



tor James Abourezk went to Teheran, the announcement on ABC and CBS was made with a reminder that Abourezk was "of Lebanese origin." No reference was ever made to Representative George Hansen's Danish background, or to Ramsey Clark's WASP ancestry. Somehow it was considered important to disclose the vaguely Islamic taint in Abourezk's past, although he happens to be of Christian Lebanese stock.

Much the most flamboyant use of suggestion originated in a small front-page item by Daniel B. Drooz in *The Atlanta Constitution* on November 8, in which it was alleged that the Palestine Liberation Organization was behind the embassy takeover. His sources were authorities in "diplomatic and European intelligence." (Coming in a close second was his November 22 discovery that "Where there are Shi'ites, there is trouble.") A month later George Ball stated gnominically in *The Washington Post* that "there is some basis to believe that the whole operation is being orchestrated by well-trained Marxists." Not to be outdone, CBS introduced its *Evening News* on December 12 with Marvin Kalb from the State Department quoting (equally unnamed) "diplomatic and intelligence experts" as affirming that Palestinian guerrillas, Iranian extremists, and Islamic fundamentalists had cooperated at the embassy. The PLO men were the ones who had mined the compound, Kalb said; they were known to be inside, he went on sagely, by virtue of "the sounds of Arabic" being heard from the embassy. (A brief report of Kalb's "story" was carried the next day in the *Los Angeles Times*.) It remained for no less a personage than Hudson Institute expert Constantine

Menges to argue exactly the same thesis first in *The New Republic* of December 15, then twice more on *The MacNeil/Lehrer Report*. No more evidence was given; it sufficed to conjure up the diabolism of communism in natural alliance with the devilish PLO and satanic Moslems.

Surprisingly, given the hundreds of hours of broadcast coverage and the millions of words in newspapers and magazines, one has the feeling of not having learned very much from all of this reporting. The media certainly provided abundant evidence of their power to be there, in Teheran, and of their knack for prodding events into assimilable, if rudimentary, shape. But there was no help to be had in analyzing the complicated politics of what was taking place. Returning to the U.S. after a trip abroad, Vermont Royster commented in *The Wall Street Journal* of December 19 that the accumulated pile of newspapers and TV programs he started going through testified to

how little I learned about the Iranian crisis I didn't already know, despite the voluminous coverage given it. Once home I was startled to find myself inundated in a daily tidal wave of television, radio and newspaper stories about Iran. The papers carried long stories under huge headlines, while TV devoted most of the evening news to the topic and then ran late-evening specials almost every night.

And from that arose another heretical thought, that the news media were engaged in overkill.

This may seem a strange reaction about a story of such obvious importance. . . . But the volume of words to tell a story doesn't necessarily equate with information imparted. The truth is that in much of that wordage there was no real news at all.

The news was the same; so was the narrow and quickly exhausted range of assumptions used to look

for it. How long is it possible to rely on experts and reporters who are understandably concerned about the hostages, incensed at the impropriety of the thing, perhaps also angry at Islam, and still hope to get fresh information, news, analysis? If one were to read the *Chicago Tribune* on November 18—a piece by James Yuenger, citing experts who said that “this is not something that’s up for rational discussion” or that Iranians have a “tendency to look for scapegoats” and “a sort of hunger for martyrdom”—and then either *Time* (“An Ideology of Martyrdom”) or *Newsweek* (“Iran’s Martyr Complex”) the week after, and almost any paper of one’s choice the week after that, one would continually keep coming up against the information that Iranians are Shi’ites who long for martyrdom, who are led by a nonrational Khomeini, who hate our country, are determined to destroy the satanic spies, are unwilling to compromise, and so forth.

Were there no events taking place in Iran *before* the embassy takeover that might illuminate things? Was there no Iranian history or society to write and speak about that *wasn’t* translatable into the anthropomorphisms of a crazy Iran gratuitously taunting good-guy America? Above all, was the press simply interested in diffusing news seemingly in keeping with a U.S. government policy to keep America “united” behind the unconditional demand for the hostages’ release, a demand shrewdly assessed by Roger Fisher of Harvard on the December 3 *Today* show as being itself subordinate to the real priority, which was not freeing the hostages but maintaining “the prestige and power of the United States”?

III. The press goes to war

Anyone saturated with superficial, loose-tongued reporting on Iran would be prone to turn for relief and genuine insight to the nightly *MacNeil/Lehrer Report*. But the programs—with their restrictive (and even conservative) format, choice of guests, and range of discussion—were unsatisfying at their best and mystifying at their worst.

Given an unconventional news story about as unfamiliar a part of the world as Iran, the viewer will immediately be made to feel an intense disparity between the Middle Eastern mobs and the program’s carefully dressed, carefully selected cast of guests, whose uniform qualification was dispassionate expertise, not necessarily insight or understanding. The questions asked made it evident that *MacNeil/Lehrer* tended to be looking for support of the prevailing national mood—outrage at the Iranians—both by eliciting ahistorical analyses of what makes the Iranians tick and by guiding discussion to fit either Cold War or crisis-management molds. A telling indication of this appeared in the two programs (December 28 and January 4) on which the guests were the two sets of American clergymen recently returned from Teheran. On both programs the clergymen told of their obvious compassion for Iranians who had suffered under the

ex-shah’s despotic rule for twenty-five years. Lehrer was openly skeptical, not to say dubious, about what they were saying. When Foreign Minister Abolhassan Bani-Sadr and his successor Sadegh Ghotbzadeh appeared (November 23 and 29), the line of questioning stayed very close to what had emerged as the U.S. government position: when will the hostages be released, MacNeil and Lehrer wanted to know, and never mind talk of concessions or committees to investigate the ex-shah’s misdemeanors and crimes.

The guest list was significant. Aside from the five appearances by Iranians, and two by supporters of Third-World and antiwar causes, most of the other panelists on the score of shows devoted to the crisis were newspapermen, government officials, academic Middle East experts, individuals connected to corporate or quasi-governmental institutions, and Middle Easterners known for their essentially antagonistic positions on the Iranian revolution. The discussions resulting from this lineup usually placed everything the Iranians said and did out of moral bounds, since few guests could truly communicate the essentially “foreign” language of distant, oppressed people who until now had silently endured decades of American impingement on their lives. Neither Lehrer nor MacNeil, moreover, tried to investigate what Bani-Sadr meant when, evoking “the oppressed people of the world,” he suggested that satisfaction of their claims did not demand the ex-shah’s extradition, but required only a gesture of recognition from the U.S. that the oppressed had legitimate grievances.

Thus, in the very conduct of its investigation *The MacNeil/Lehrer Report* seemed to censor itself, prevent itself from straying into wider areas of human experience that antagonists or interlocutors thought were important. The questions invariably focused on how to deal with the crisis (not with trying to understand the new horizons being hewed out everywhere in the nonwhite, non-European world); the answers seemed to resort almost instinctively to received wisdom about sectarian unrest, Islamic revivalism, geopolitics, balance of power. These were the constraints within which MacNeil and Lehrer operated. And for better or for worse, they happen to be the very constraints within which the government itself operated.

In the context of such cautious and conformist journalism, we can now begin to appreciate the astonishing prescience of I. F. Stone’s piece “A Shah Lobby Next?” which he wrote over a year ago and which was published in *The New York Review of Books* of February 22, 1979. He spoke there of how the ex-shah, who had just left Iran, could “rally formidable friends” from the Chase Manhattan Bank, the arms industry, the oil trust, the CIA, and “hungry academia” to get an American visa. Were he to be admitted to the U.S., Stone speculated, tempting possibilities might arise, even though “we should have learned by now, but haven’t, to keep out of Iran’s domestic poli-

tics, and we may get a parallel lesson soon in keeping Iran's politics out of ours." Why? Because, Stone's uncanny predictions continued:

What if the new Iranian regime makes demands of its own. . . . lays claim—as Khomeini has already indicated—to the foreign holdings and bank accounts of the Shah and the Pahlevi Foundation? What if it demands the Shah's return for trial on charges of plundering his country? . . . What if it accuses him, as absolute ruler, with absolute responsibility for untold tortures and deaths at the hands of SAVAK?

Stone not only happens to have been right; he is not, and has never pretended to be, an "expert" on Iran. Look through his article and you will find no reference to the Islamic mentality, or Shi'ite predilections for martyrdom, or any of the other nonsense parading as relevant "information" on Iran. He understands politics, he understands and makes no attempt to lie about what moves men and women to act in this society, as well as all others. Above all, he does not doubt that even though Iranians are not Europeans or Americans, they may have legitimate grievances, ambitions, and hopes of their own, which it would be folly for us to ignore.

With characteristic hardheadedness, syndicated columnist Joseph Kraft sketched *his* very different view of the matter in *TIME FOR A SHOW OF POWER*, which appeared in *The Washington Post* on November 11. It was what he wrote there, far more than all the standard reporting about diplomatic immunity and the sanctity of our embassy, that illuminated aspects of the underlying, perhaps even unconscious, rationale behind the news media's overall performance. The downfall of the shah, Kraft wrote, was "a calamity for American national interests." Not only did the shah

make available regular supplies of oil; he imposed order on the Iranian plateau through "his imperial pretensions." This was good for America: it kept the oil flowing, of course; it kept the region, as well as "submerged nationalities," in line; it kept "us" appearing strong. Kraft went on to recommend, as part of the process of "rebuilding American policy toward Iran," that the U.S. find occasion "for an unmistakable, and preferably surprising, assertion of American power." How might this be done?

[It] might take the form of supporting Iraq in its effort to stir up provincial resistance inside Iran. It might mean giving military assistance to Turkey. . . . The United States needs a capacity to do something besides sending Marines and bombing. It has to rebuild a capacity self-destructed only a few years ago—a capacity for covert intervention.

What is clear in Kraft's piece is his unwillingness to accept the Iranian revolution as ever having taken place; everything connected to it must be destroyed as the aberration he wanted his readers to believe it was. In other words, Kraft was projecting his personal version of reality onto a complex Iranian as well as American reality, thereby substituting his wishes for the facts. Kraft's version had the additional didactic merit of being entirely devoid of morality: it was about power, American power to have the world on our terms, as though twenty-five years of intervention in Iran had taught us nothing. If in the process Kraft found himself denying that other people have a right to produce a change in their own form of government, denying even that a change had definitively taken place, that did not much matter. He wanted America to know (and be known by) the world through its

'The news media were using their powers to accomplish a purpose similar to our government's—the extension of an American presence and the negation of the Iranian revolution'



The students hold a press conference

Black Star

power, its needs, its vision. All else was an outrage.

Power, of course, is a complex, not always visible, very protean thing, unless one thinks only in military terms. Yet there are situations in which, as Kraft quite accurately observed, it cannot be employed directly (as it would be in a raid, CIA subversion, a punitive strike of some sort), but only indirectly (as when "America held hostage" is presented and represented by an information apparatus with seemingly limitless resources). It is not an exaggeration, in fact, to say that the feeling of "national impotence" of which Kraft also wrote resulted from the temporary eclipse of one kind of American power by another—the military's by the media's. After the occupation of the embassy, the military found itself stymied by a force which seemed outside the range of direct American power.

This same force, however, remained vulnerable to the limits placed on it by the rich symbolizing powers of the American media. For however much the Iranian had gained his or her freedom from the shah and the U.S., he or she still appeared on American TV screens as part of a large anonymous mob, deindividualized, dehumanized—and *ruled again* as a result.

Whether they did so consciously or not, the news media were in fact using their powers of representation to accomplish a purpose similar to that intended by our government in the past—the extension of an American presence, or, what to Iranians amounted to the same thing, negation of the Iranian revolution. This did not principally entail the presentation of news, nor the analysis of or reflection upon an important new juncture in American foreign relations. With very few exceptions, the news media seemed to be waging a kind of war against Iran, even though, paradoxically, government and news media sometimes appeared to be antagonists.

Hence, for example, the flap caused by the government's attack on NBC for using the Gallegos interview. Or the frequent refrain coming from quarters either speaking for or like the government that, as George Ball put it during *The MacNeil/Lehrer Report* of December 12, "the greatest communications network in the world has been really at the service of the so-called government in Iran." Related to this theme, there was a constant effort to discredit testimonials, statements, or declarations broadcast, printed, or otherwise diffused by the media that might have served to undermine the government's version of events. Writing in the *Chicago Tribune* on November 22, James Coates reported that "hostages held in the United States Embassy in Teheran are undergoing psychological pressures similar to the brainwashing of American POWs during the Korean and Viet Nam wars, administration officials said Wednesday." Lois Timnick reported for the *Los Angeles Times* on November 26 that, according to one expert, "the world can expect to see and hear taped interviews with individual hostages in which they 'confess' to all sorts of misdeeds and make statements that are harmful both to themselves and to the United States." Although

such accounts ran in the press, they were meant to preempt any doubts that the press itself might later encourage by reporting facts contradicting the government's version of events.

Overall, however, the press followed the government's lead. This is not to say that there was actual collusion between the media and the government, nor that *everything* reported about Iran was crippled by ideological hobbles. But it is to say that the world is much too complex now, and situations much too unconventional, for the press to join the government in treating all events as affronts to, or enhancements of, American power. We cannot continue believing, for example, that the most important thing about "Islam" is whether it is pro- or anti-American. The intellectual bias involved in so reductive a view of the world would guarantee a continued confrontation between the United States and the rest of an intransigent mankind and promote a policy of expanding the Cold War to include an unacceptably large portion of the globe. Such a policy could be considered active U.S. advocacy of the "Western way of life," but an equally good case could be made that the Western way of life doesn't necessarily involve provoking hostility and confrontation as a means for clarifying our own sense of our place in the world.

IV. Reporting the revolution

Joseph Kraft was not alone in trying to substitute his political theories for Iranian reality. The news media as a whole, in fact, seem never to have conceded that a popular revolution actually has taken place. For one, most journalists still refer to Mohammed Reza Pahlavi as "the shah," not "the ex-shah," which, of course, is what he is since the abolition of the monarchy in January 1979. More important, reporters and editors have clearly favored stories reporting atrocities, executions, and ethnic conflict over those on the country's extremely fluid, actually quite open, political struggle—which, although it does not conform to American norms, and may also have produced many disappointments, is certainly worth the effort necessary to comprehend it.

The hardest thing to understand about the news media is why, almost without exception, they regard the movement that overthrew the Pahlavi regime and brought in different, perhaps more popular groups, with such disdain and suspicion. A partial answer, no doubt, is that the movement employed a dramatically unfamiliar (to Western eyes) idiom of religious, as well as political, resistance to tyranny. Typical of efforts to understand this phenomenon is Ray Moseley's November 25 story in the *Chicago Tribune*, CONFORMITY, INTOLERANCE GRIP REVOLUTIONARY IRAN:

People who consider dying to be an honor are, by definition, fanatics. Vengeful blood lust and a yearning for martyrdom seem especially pronounced among the Shia Moslems of Iran. This is what impelled thousands of citizens to stand

unarmed and defiant against troops with automatic weapons during the revolution.

Each of these sentences contains highly debatable suppositions posing as truth, but they seem allowable simply because an Islamic revolution is in question: most Americans don't consider Patrick Henry a fanatic because he said "give me liberty or give me death." A desire to kill French citizens who had collaborated with the Nazis (thousands were killed in a matter of days after Liberation) does not mean that the French could be characterized in so general a way. And what about our own common admiration for people whose moral courage faces down armed troops?

With the shah deposed, the necessarily long and difficult consolidation of the revolution became the story. "The New Barbarians are loose in Iran," wrote Hal Gulliver in *The Atlanta Constitution* on November 13; he spoke not just of the students holding the hostages, but of everyone in Iran. Or read a long, apparently expert piece in the October 14 *New York Times Magazine* by Youssef Ibrahim, who had reported from Iran during much of the revolution, until he was expelled, and you will be convinced that the revolution has already failed, that Iran is a smoldering lava bed of resentment, fear, and antirevolutionary passion. The evidence: basically some impressions, quotes from two government ministers, and for the most part discussions with a banker, a lawyer, and an advertising executive.

Such analyses of Iranian events were often supported by self-serving misinterpretations of Islam. Take, as an example, a CBS Evening News segment on Islam on November 21, during which Randy Daniels described Muharram, a month in the Islamic calendar during which Shi'ite Moslems commemorate the martyrdom of Hussein and Hassan, who, they believe, followed in the direct line of prophetic succession after Mohammed. In the words of Daniels, Muharram became a period when Shi'ites "celebrate Mohammed's challenge to world leaders"—a statement not only silly but needlessly provocative. In a similarly reckless vein, Moseley's attack on Iran in the *Tribune* was supported by a truly cosmic editorial in his paper the same day accusing Khomeini of nothing less than "a holy war on the world." The *jihād* (holy war) motif was also given an extraordinary run by the *Los Angeles Times* in an article by Edmund Bosworth on December 12. Leaving aside the fact that such authorities as the University of Chicago's Fazlur Rahman hold that "among the later Muslim legal schools . . . it is only the fanatic Kharijites who have declared *jihād* to be one of the 'pillars of the Faith,'" Bosworth goes on indiscriminately to adduce a great deal of historical "evidence" for the theory that *all* political activity, in an area that includes Turkey, Iran, Sudan, Ethiopia, Spain, India, for a period of about twelve hundred years, can be understood as emanating from the Moslem call for a *jihād*.

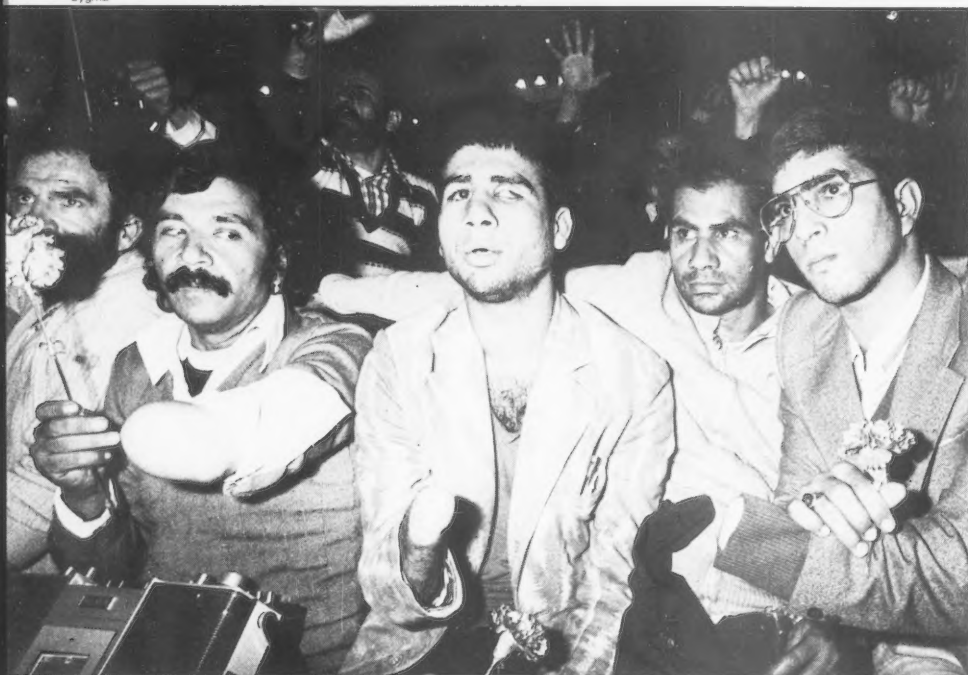
If aggressive hyperbole is one journalistic mode commonly used to describe Iran, the other is misapplied euphemism, usually stemming from ignorance, but often deriving from a barely concealed ideological hostility. Its most prevalent form is the device of displacing actuality with a plausible "explanation" of the reporter's own. Now the one subject the press has looked into only superficially is the previous Iranian regime: it is not popular to take seriously current Iranian grievances against both the deposed monarch and a longstanding U.S. policy to support him without reservation. Somehow, the violation of Iranian sovereignty that occurred in August 1953, when the CIA, in conjunction with the British Anglo-Iranian Oil Company, overthrew the government of Mohammed Mosaddegh, merits little investigation—the assumption apparently being that we are a great power entitled to change governments and forgive tyranny when it is inflicted on illiterate non-Westerners at our discretion.

These views produced some remarkable euphemisms in late 1979, when everyone agreed the Iranians had committed an act of war against our embassy (and even Mansour Farhang, now the Iranian ambassador to the United Nations, had admitted that there was no way to condone the holding of hostages). Ernest Conine, editorializing for the *Los Angeles Times* on December 10, was typical:

News accounts seem to bear out the contention by Middle Eastern scholars that what we are really seeing is a widespread revolt against the unsettling influences that have accompanied the Western-style modernization of recent years. The shah is hated not just because his police tortured people but also because he took away government subsidies from Muslim holy men, and presided over an industrial revolution that uprooted millions of Iranians from their traditional life styles in the countryside.

"Satan America" is elected as the chief villain, not just in Iran but elsewhere, because for 25 years the United States has been the most visible power in the area, and is therefore a handy symbol of outside forces that have brought unwelcome changes.

Much in this argument is weighted against the Iranians through unspoken assumptions, so it needs to be read carefully. Conine first of all implies that the "unsettling influences" of "Western-style modernization" are the result of trying in good faith to bring Iran and Islam out of the past into the present; in other words, Islam and Iran are backward, the West is advanced, and no wonder that backward people are going to have a hard time keeping up. These are eminently contestable value judgments. Moreover, Conine seems to be arguing, without any warrant except ethnocentric bias, that, unlike "us," Iranians were not moved to hatred by torture alone, but were reacting to insults to their "holy men," a phrase used to remind one of primitive people with their witch doctors. His final point develops the others by association, laying the blame on retrograde Iranians for not appreciating the well-intentioned efforts of the U.S. and Pahlavi to get Iran going; thus not only are we exonerated, but Iranians as a



'If it was bruited about that the shah resorted to torture, well, said *The Washington Post*, "it can be argued that he was entirely in the tradition of Iranian history."'

Some of hundreds of tortured former prisoners waiting, vainly, to meet U.N. Secretary General Kurt Waldheim in January

people are subtly indicted for not knowing the value of our brand of modernity, which is why the ex-shah is a noble figure after all.

Throughout reports of the Iranian events, little mention was made of the fact, which is neither esoteric nor hard to come by, that not only the shah but U.S. corporations reaped vast profits in the area (it should not have been difficult to connect the wealth of the Pahlavi family and oil company profits) and that most Iranians, like those Saudis who do not happen to be members of the royal family, see American-connected wealth as a burden. If it was bruited about that the shah occasionally resorted to torture to maintain his new order, well, said *The Washington Post* on December 16, "it can be argued that he was entirely in the tradition of Iranian history." In other words, it is enough for Iranians to know that "we" know that they have always been tortured; any attempt to change this foreordained fate of theirs is a betrayal of their own history, to say nothing of their own nature.

This unbreakable double bind turned up in a Don A. Schanche story for the *Los Angeles Times* on December 5, where Schanche argued that because the new constitution was "one of the most bizarre political documents of modern times," and because it didn't happen to resemble closely the U.S. Constitution (no checks and balances!), Khomeini's ascendancy was at least as bad as the ex-shah's. That there would be "provisions for popular elections of president and parliament and an organized judicial system" was dismissed as "the trappings of democracy." Schanche simply omitted to mention what Eric Rouleau analyzed in detail in *Le Monde* on December 2 and 3—the very busy, compet-

itive debate about the constitution, as well as the disagreements as to Khomeini's exact role.

With the noteworthy exception of Andrew Young, no high public figure in this country had anything to say about what—to observers like the two groups of clergymen who were in Teheran in late December—the previous regime meant to the Iranians as they took action against the U.S. And, collaborating in this silence, the press treated the ex-shah exclusively as a charity case for at least twenty days after he was admitted to this country. Stripped of his political past, he appeared to be somehow unconnected to what then happened at the embassy in Iran. A few journalists, Don Oberdorfer of *The Washington Post* chief among them, tried to reconstruct the devious steps by which David Rockefeller, Henry Kissinger, and John McCloy had pressured the government into bringing the ex-shah here. But these facts, as well as information on the longstanding association between him and the Chase Manhattan Bank—which would have helped to explain Iranian animosities—never got the play they deserved nationwide. Instead we were given numerous stories euphemistically explaining the hostage crisis as the result of Khomeini's manipulation, his need for distracting the populace, economic difficulties at home, and the like.

More generally, one would have thought it a worthwhile effort to report in detail what it means for a country's national existence, after decades of severe oppression, to have a dozen political parties vying for influence and power, in a political environment relatively free of the oppression that characterized the previous regime. What does it mean for a nation to have a leader who, although stubborn and in many ways unattractive, has only an unclearly defined official posi-

tion, who is not too interested in central government, who is clearly venerated, and who speaks with such conviction of *al-mostazifin* (the weakened and oppressed)? Few Americans can have understood from the press that the government in Iran was provisional, pending the setting up of a new state, or that debate about the new constitution raged for months, or that there are numerous parties operating freely (religious and secular, right-wing and left-wing), or that 230 newspapers appear regularly, or that there are actual political issues (not by any means all reducible to sectarian or ethnic or religious factionalism) exercising large numbers of Iranians, or that the conflict between the ayatollahs (Khomeini and Shariat-Madari) concerns political as well as religious interpretations of Islamic principles, or that the future of Iran need not naturally fall into patterns viewed as desirable or undesirable by middle-class reporters for American newspapers.

V. Another country

Another way of formulating these points is to check the overall American version of the Iran story against a European version, Eric Rouleau's series of daily articles in *Le Monde*, which ran from the first week of the crisis through the end of December. Of course it is important that Rouleau is not an American, that no French hostages were held, that Iran has never been in a French sphere of influence. Rouleau, who has been covering the region for twenty-five years, also did not have to overcome many of the obstacles facing American correspondents, who usually did not know Farsi, had no background in Iranian affairs, and were usually rotated out after a short tour of duty. (On the other hand, his resources were certainly more limited than the Americans'; *The Australian* estimated in December that between them the networks were spending a million dollars a day in Teheran.)

It is also important to acknowledge that the prodigious quantity of American coverage meant that a certain number of extremely valuable, generally (but not always) anti-consensus reports did appear. Op-ed pieces by Phil Freshman in the *Los Angeles Times* and by Fred Halliday in *The Boston Globe*, articles on alternatives to force and on Iranian realities (Richard Falk in the December 9 *Atlanta Journal and Constitution*, Roger Fisher in the January 14 *Newsweek*), excellent background reporting on the ex-shah's admission to this country, occasionally good political analysis and news stories (Doyle McManus in the *Los Angeles Times*, John Kifner in *The New York Times*): these are some of the high spots occasionally accessible to readers looking for something beyond the narrowly patriotic line hewed to most of the time. One should also mention two powerful articles on the new jingoism of Americans wearing "Iran Sucks" and "Nuke Iran" buttons that appeared in the December 24 and January 7 issues of *Inquiry* magazine.

But all in all, TV, the daily press, and the weekly newsmagazines reported Iran with nowhere near the

insight and understanding that Rouleau displayed in his sequence for *Le Monde*. To put matters very strongly, it would have to be said that what he wrote made Iran seem like a different country from the one represented in the American media. Rouleau never lost sight of the fact that Iran was a country still undergoing massive revolutionary change, and that, being without a government, it is consequently in the process of creating a completely new set of political institutions, processes, and realities. The U.S. Embassy occupation had to be viewed within that process, not isolated from it, it became clear.

Rouleau never used "Islam" to explain events or personalities, because he viewed his reporter's mandate as comprising the analysis of politics, societies, and history—complex enough as they are—without resorting to ideological generalizations and mystifying rhetoric. No American reporter spent the kind of time Rouleau did reporting the extended debate in Iran over the constitutional referendum; nor did others match his analyses of the various parties, tactics of struggle, personalities, ideas, and institutions vying for power and attention. Even crucial events (such as Bani-Sadr's visit to the students in the embassy on December 5) were largely ignored by his American counterparts, and none of them so much as mentioned the important role played in the embassy by Hajitolislam Khoeiny, who also happens to have been a candidate for Iran's presidency.

What is more important is that Rouleau seemed able to grant that personalities or currents of ideas at work in the crisis might have a potentially serious role, and he therefore seemed able to avoid jumping to conclusions encouraged by officials. For example, Representative Hansen's visit emerged as a much more successful undertaking in what Rouleau told us about it than one would have suspected from American accounts. There was even substantial evidence given by Rouleau on November 28 that Hansen's success with the Iranians was deliberately allowed to shrivel up by the White House (and of course the U.S. news media), just as a possible congressional investigation into U.S.-Iranian banking procedures (sought by the Iranians, possibly as an exchange for the hostages' release) was snuffed out by the White House.

In Rouleau's hands, Iranian politics quite simply took on new meaning. He was able to adduce the real reason for Prime Minister Mehdi Bazargan's fall (certainly not because he was a liberal democrat, as the U.S. news media liked to argue, or because he had shaken hands with Brzezinski in Algiers, but because he was inefficient and incompetent in fulfilling his government's stated policies). He chronicled the struggle between Bani-Sadr and Ghotbzadeh (the former a determined socialist and anti-imperialist, the latter a conservative on political and economic issues). He sketched in detail the apparently paradoxical positions they took on the hostage crisis (Bani-Sadr for defusing



'Iran was a country still undergoing massive revolutionary change in the process of creating a completely new set of political institutions, processes, and realities'

At the great mosque, Qum

it, Ghotbzadeh for escalating). What we can surmise through Rouleau's work is that the U.S. preferred dealing with Ghotbzadeh, and seemed to encourage Bani-Sadr's removal (by not taking him seriously, by actively derogating his suggestions, by actually calling him a "kook"), which is important information for understanding future U.S. policy toward Iran, given Bani-Sadr's victory in the presidential election. Rouleau also shows how the U.S. conducted a sustained economic war against Iran well before the embassy takeover in November; a sinister aspect of this is that the Chase Manhattan Bank has continued to play a leading part.

In sum, Rouleau's reporting on Iran for *Le Monde* was political in the best sense of the word. The U.S. news media's simply was not; or, one could say, it was political in the bad sense. What seemed unfamiliar or strange to U.S. reporters was branded "Islamic" and treated with commensurate hostility or derision. Iran as a contemporary society going through extraordinarily important change had no impact on the press; certainly Iranian history was never allowed to appear with any integrity. Clichés, caricatures, ignorance, unqualified ethnocentrism, and inaccuracy were inordinately evident, as was an almost total subservience to the government thesis that the only thing that mattered was "not giving in to blackmail." Along with this went a shocking assumption that if the U.S. had forgiven the ex-shah and declared him a charity case, it did not matter what Iranians (or Iranian history itself) had to say.

So poorly and with so much incitement did the press report Iran that it is not wrong to suspect that a number of opportunities to resolve the crisis were lost, and perhaps this is why the Iranian government has suggested that fewer reporters in Iran might quieten the tension and produce a peaceful resolution. What is most serious about the media's failure, and what does

not augur well for the future, is that so far as international issues are concerned, the news media do not see themselves as performing an independent, truly informational task. There seems to be no awareness that the new era we are entering cannot with impunity be represented in confrontational dichotomies (us versus them, the U.S. versus the Soviet Union, the West versus Islam), unless, of course, it is going to be our policy with the Soviet Union to destroy the world.

It is alarming that the U.S. press seems generally incapable of learning much about the world, that its reports one day seem not to have incorporated very much learned the day before, that it seems generally unwilling to refine its perceptions by looking in new places. It would have been helpful, for example, if, after many hundreds of pictures and actualities of Iran mobs, reporters and editors had read Ervan Abrahamian's classic December 1968 *Past and Present* article, "The Crowd in Iranian Politics, 1905–1953," which explains the remarkable meaning of the crowd as a major factor in Iranian history, something that has very little to do with mere disorganized mob behavior. Why did no reporter seem to avail himself of the crucial material contained in the Summer 1979 issue of *Race and Class*—for example, the material on Ali Shariati, an Iranian friend of Algerian revolutionary Frantz Fanon, who with Khomeini was the major influence on the revolution?

For a journalist, blindly serving his government is as perilous as assuming that his audience is incapable of learning. Neither course is acceptable for a society like ours, and no amount of going on about free competition, openness, and democracy ought to obscure the issues. Bad journalism is bad journalism, but for the U.S. it is worse. True patriotism is wanting to know as much of the truth as possible, not just the part that encourages us in the feeling we are right. ■

It looks and reads like journalism.

But what fills a hunk of the *Wall Street Journal's* news hole is rewritten PR

BULLISH WALL STREET JOURNAL IS LARGEST DAILY IN U.S. read the headline in the January 13 *New York Times*. The peg for the story that followed: "sometime last fall" the *Journal* "outstripped The Daily News and became, unofficially, the largest circulation daily newspaper in the country." *Times* reporter Deirdre Carmody cited "the quality of the editorial content of the paper" as one reason for the *Journal's* success. Her piece was a bouquet.

The following day, in a full-page ad in the *Times* (also in this *Review*, page 10), *Journal* publisher Warren H. Phillips described "a few high points of the decade just ended" and declared: "We enter the Eighties determined to improve and expand The *Journal's* news coverage and service. . . ." The space in the paper devoted to news, he told readers, "will be increased about 10%."

Word that a paper is expanding its news hole is usually a cause for cheering, but, for the time being, we'll have to leave the cheerleading to the *Times*. A survey we set in motion last October checked our impulse to celebrate.

October 4 was a typical news day. The *Journal's* front-page leaders reported on a host of annual meetings of the International Monetary Fund and World Bank and on the U.S. espionage war with the Soviet Union, while the center, A-head story introduced readers to a Chicago gold dealer. Leaving page one, we came across a host of shorter articles that lacked the "trenchant analysis" which Carmody described as being, along with whimsy, "a trademark of The *Journal*." In fact, they read like rewritten press releases. Were they? To answer this question we re-

Research by Joanne Angela Ambrosio. She is an editorial assistant at CJR.

It's in the Journal.

Odds on the spread: ten of the thirteen stories appearing on pages 13 and 14 on October 4 were little more than press-release paraphrases (circled above)

Safeway Net Rose 30% In Fiscal 3rd Quarter; A Tax Credit Is Cited

By WALL STREET JOURNAL Staff Reporter
OAKLAND, Calif.—Safeway Stores Inc. reported a 30% gain in fiscal third quarter net income on a 10% sales increase, but all of the earnings boost came from an overseas credit from a tax adjustment.

Profit in the 12 weeks ended Sept. 8 rose to \$41.3 million, or \$1.58 a share, from \$31.7 million, or \$1.22 a share, a year earlier. Sales rose to \$3.20 billion from \$2.90 billion.

The supermarket chain said the net income figure includes a credit to income taxes of \$9.8 million, or 38 cents a share, from a change in United Kingdom tax law that provides benefits in connection with merchandise inventories. Safeway said \$8 million, or 31 cents a share, of the total amount of the tax credit relates to prior years.

Earnings for the 36 weeks rose to \$106.9 million, or \$4.09 a share, from \$88.2 million, or \$3.77 a share, a year earlier. The 1979 figures also include the foreign tax credit gain. Sales rose 8.4% to \$9.36 billion from \$8.63 billion.

Safeway said in the first 36 weeks of this year it opened 49 stores and closed 55, leaving a Sept. 8 total of 2,430 stores. This is three stores less than the year-earlier total.

The company said the 36-week net income includes a loss of \$19,000 from foreign-currency translations. A year earlier, such losses were \$5.5 million.

IMMEDIATE RELEASE

SAFeway STORES, INC.
Oakland, California 94660
(415) 891-3267 del campo

October 3, 1979

Safeway Stores, Incorporated reported unaudited consolidated sales of \$9,359,900,000 for the 36 weeks ended September 8, 1979, an increase of 8.4% over sales of \$8,633,493,000 for the 36 weeks ended September 9, 1978. Net income in the first 36 weeks of 1979 was \$106,900,000, or \$4.09 per share of common stock. This compares to net income of \$98,221,000, or \$3.77 per share of common stock, in the comparable period of 1978. Pre-tax earnings in the first 36 weeks of 1979 reflects a charge of \$33,000,000 as the result of the application of the LIFO method of valuing certain inventories. In the same period of 1978, the LIFO charge was \$27,000,000. LIFO charges are based on current estimates of what the increases in inventory costs and quantities will be at the coming year end.

Included in net income for the 12 and 36 weeks ended September 8, 1979, is a credit to income taxes of \$9,823,000 (38¢ a share) resulting from a change in United Kingdom tax law concerning the recapture of stock relief tax benefits realized by the Company on increases in merchandise inventories. This treatment is in accordance with FASB Statement No. 31. Of the above amount, \$7,979,000 (31¢ a share) related to prior years.

Net income in the first 36 weeks of 1979 reflects a loss on translation of foreign currency financial statements of \$19,000, compared with a loss of \$5,506,000 in the comparable period of 1978.

During the 36-week period, 49 new stores were opened and 55 were closed. As of September 8, 1979, the Company operated 2,430 stores, compared to 2,436 at December 30, 1978, and 2,433 a year ago.

But this is reporting?

quested the companies referred to in 111 of these articles to send us the press releases that might have sired the *Journal* pieces. We were surprised by the results of our survey (which was admittedly incomplete: seventy companies of the 111 contacted responded to our query). In fifty-three cases—72 percent of our responses—news stories were based solely on press releases; in thirty-two of these examples, the releases were reprinted almost verbatim or in paraphrase, while in twenty-one other cases only the most perfunctory additional reporting had been done. Perhaps most troublesome, twenty of these stories (29 percent) carried the slug “By a WALL STREET JOURNAL Staff Reporter.” Based on these returns, we project that eighty-four stories were based on press releases in the October 4 *Journal*—45 percent of the day’s 188 news items and 27 percent of the paper’s non-tabular news hole.

For their part, *Journal* reporters we spoke to were rather surprised at our surprise. The paper’s beat reporters commonly spend a couple of hours a day confirming and processing press releases, we were told. (Several *Journal* reporters added, using much the same words, “At least we don’t put our bylines on press releases, the way they do at the *Times*.”) Asked for comment, the *Journal*’s executive editor, Frederick Taylor, said, “Ninety percent of daily coverage is started by a company making an announcement for the record. We’re relaying this information to our readers.” And those slugs? “A staff-written piece is a staff-written piece—and that’s what the slug means.”

All very well and good. Still, distinctions clear to the editors and staff of the nation’s largest daily may be far less clear to its readers. Selected from throughout the October 4 edition, the following material—matching up press releases with stories based on them—is an attempt to shed light on the mysteries of the *Journal*’s news hole.

Bankers Trust Company Press Information

FOR RELEASE IMMEDIATELY

Bankers Trust Company and Republic National Bank of New York have reached agreement on the purchase by Republic National of 12 Bankers Trust branch offices in New York City. The branches have deposits totaling approximately \$150 million.

The agreement provides for the transfer of accounts, staff, physical facilities and other assets of the 12 offices, 10 of which are in Manhattan, one in the Bronx and one in Brooklyn.

Bankers Trust has now signed agreements with four banks for the sale of 70 branches that have deposits totaling approximately \$840 million and loans and fixed assets of approximately \$275 million. Assuming no substantial change in the deposit level when the sales are completed, the four banks would pay Bankers Trust a premium on deposits exceeding \$60 million. The premium is before taxes and expenses related to the branch sales.

The other three banks with which Bankers Trust has signed branch sale agreements are Barclays Bank of New York, 31 offices; National Bank of North America, 16 offices and Bank Leumi Trust Company of New York, 11 offices. In addition, Bankers Trust has accepted in principle a proposal from Manufacturers Hanover Trust Company as the basis for negotiating the purchase of eight offices.

The sale of its retail branches is part of Bankers Trust Company’s corporate strategy to devote its resources to providing banking, trust, money market and financial advisory services to corporations, governments, institutions and affluent individuals worldwide.

The sales, which are expected to be completed in early 1980, are subject to certain closing conditions, including the approval of the appropriate regulatory authorities.

Bankers Trust Agrees To Sell 12 Branches To Republic National

By a WALL STREET JOURNAL Staff Reporter
NEW YORK—Bankers Trust Co. said it agreed to sell 12 branches to Republic National Bank of New York.

With this latest sale, Bankers Trust has signed agreements with four banks for the sale of 70 branches, with total deposits of about \$840 million, for more than \$60 million. In addition, Bankers Trust said it has accepted in principle a proposal from Manufacturers Hanover Trust Co. to buy another eight branches.

The sales slated to be completed early next year, are subject to approval by regulatory authorities. They are part of Bankers Trust’s plans to abandon the retail banking business to concentrate on commercial banking. The latest 12 branches have total deposits of about \$150 million.

In all, Bankers Trust plans to sell up to 85 of its 103 branches, a bank spokesman said. Republic currently has 19 branches.

HARSHE-ROTMAN & DRUCK, INC. PUBLIC RELATIONS

NEW YORK 200 E. 44th St. 10017 (212) 681-3400	CHICAGO 444 N. Michigan Ave. 60611 (312) 644-9600	LOS ANGELES 1245 Wilshire Blvd. 90010 (213) 386-5271	WASHINGTON, D.C. 1010 Wisconsin Ave., N.W. 20007 (202) 895-0200	HOUSTON 5202 West Loop South Suite 1950 77027 (713) 861-1531
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Ehrenreich’s Ailing Unitron Operations To Be Discontinued

By a WALL STREET JOURNAL Staff Reporter
GARDEN CITY, N.Y.—Ehrenreich Photo-Optical Industries Inc. said it will phase out operations of its unprofitable Unitron Photo division by the end of the current fiscal year, April 30, 1980.

It said a \$700,000 provision for losses anticipated in connection with disbanding the unit will be charged against earnings in the fiscal second quarter ending Oct. 31.

The division, which had sales of about \$21 million in fiscal 1979, had losses “in excess of \$1 million in recent years,” the company said. It added that the losses continued despite “extensive reorganization and restructuring of product lines.” Ehrenreich earned \$2.1 million, or \$1.04 a share, on sales of

FROM: Gail Safian
(New York Office)

FOR: Ehrenreich Photo-Optical Industries, Inc.
623 Stewart Avenue
Garden City, New York 11530

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

EHRENREICH PHOTO WILL PHASE OUT UNPROFITABLE DIVISION,
TAKING \$700,000 WRITE-DOWN IN SECOND QUARTER

GARDEN CITY, N.Y., Oct. 3 — Ehrenreich Photo-Optical Industries, Inc. (Amex) will phase out operations of its unprofitable Unitron Photo Division by the close of the current fiscal year ending April 30, 1980, Herbert Sax, EPOI president, said today. A provision of \$700,000 for losses anticipated in connection with the disbanding of the unit will be charged against income in the fiscal second quarter ending October 31, 1979, he said.

The division, which accounted for about 13 percent of Ehrenreich’s sales in fiscal 1979, has sustained annual losses in excess of a million dollars in recent years. Sax noted that Unitron Photo had undergone extensive reorganization and restructuring of product lines in response to changing market conditions, but losses continued.

“Further, in a photographic market dominated by direct distribution and characterized by price erosion, potential profits are too small to justify investments necessary to sustain the division,” he said.

continued

**It's in
the Journal.
But this is
reporting?**
continued

ALCO NEWS RELEASE

Alco Standard Corporation • P.O. Box 22479, Cleveland, Ohio 44122 • 216-464-845

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE:
October 3, 1979

For Information Contact:
Larry L. Leedy

Alco Standard Corporation today announced that it has acquired the assets and business of Great Western Steel Company, Chicago, Illinois, from Jones & Laughlin Steel Corporation. The transaction was for cash. Great Western will join Alco's Metalsource group which distributes specialty steel and steel products throughout America.

With annual sales in excess of \$30 million, Great Western is a major flat rolled steel processing and distribution center based in Chicago and serves the Midwest. Its product line includes hot and cold rolled carbon sheet steel, hot dipped galvanized steels and formed products. Operations of the company will remain at the present location and under current management.

Alco Standard, The Corporate Partnership, with headquarters in Valley Forge, Pennsylvania, is a diversified corporation serving the areas of manufacturing, distribution and resources.

Alco Standard Acquires Jones & Laughlin Unit

By a WALL STREET JOURNAL Staff Reporter
VALLEY FORGE, Pa.—Alco Standard Corp. said it acquired Great Western Steel Co. from LTV Corp.'s Jones & Laughlin Steel Corp. unit for cash; it didn't disclose the amount.

Alco said Great Western, a Chicago-based processor and distributor of flat-rolled steel products, has annual sales in excess of \$30 million. Great Western will remain in its current location and will continue under its current management, Alco said.

Alco is a diversified manufacturing, distribution and mining concern.

BANK OF AMERICA NEWS

Don Kingston
San Francisco World Headquarters
(415) 622-6956 (collect)

For immediate release.

SAN FRANCISCO, October 1, 1979 -- Bank of America today announced the opening of a new branch in Alexandria, Egypt, its second in that country.

Alexandria is Egypt's second largest city, as well as its major seaport and commercial center.

The new branch, managed by Dominique Daridan, will concentrate on financing international trade and Eurocurrency term financing, the bank said.

The bank opened a branch in Cairo in 1976.

Bank of America's Egypt Branch

SAN FRANCISCO—Bank of America said it opened a branch in Alexandria, Egypt, its second in that country.

Alexandria is Egypt's second largest city and its major seaport and commercial center.

The new branch will concentrate on financing international trade and Eurocurrency term financing, the BankAmerica Corp. unit said.

The bank opened a branch in Cairo in 1976.

Ultramar Unit Gets \$51.8 Million Job From U.S. for Fuel

By a WALL STREET JOURNAL Staff Reporter
WASHINGTON—Golden Eagle Refining Co., a unit of Ultramar Co., received a \$51.8 million contract from the Defense Logistics Agency for 75 million gallons of jet fuel.

RCA Service Co., a division of RCA Corp., was awarded a \$6.2 million Air Force contract to operate 13 aircraft and warning stations in Alaska.

Ashland Oil Inc. got a \$30.3 million contract from the Defense Logistics Agency for 50 million gallons of jet fuel.

Automation Industries Inc., a unit of General Cable Corp., was given a \$22.8 million Navy contract for design, engineering and feasibility studies for shipboard combat systems.

Martin Marietta Corp. received a \$21.1 million Air Force contract to provide launch support for the Titan rocket program.

Wayne H. Colony Co. received a \$5.9 million Air Force contract for an ammunition loading system.

SCI Systems Inc. was awarded a \$5.6 million Navy contract for Teletype units and associated equipment.

Sun Chemical Corp.'s Kollsman Instrument Co. unit received a \$4 million Army contract for aircraft altimeters.

Northrop Corp. received a \$4 million increase in an Air Force contract for F5 fighter planes.

Burroughs Corp. received a \$4 million Air Force contract for rental and maintenance of automatic data processing equipment.

Grumman Corp. got a \$3.6 million Navy contract for services and materials used in modifying F14A fighter planes.

Rockwell International Corp. received a \$3.1 million Navy contract for an airborne communications system.



NEWS RELEASE

OFFICE OF ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF DEFENSE (PUBLIC AFFAIRS)

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20301

PLEASE NOTE DATE

IMMEDIATE RELEASE

October 3, 1979

No. 481-79
Oxford 73189 (Copies)
Oxford 75131 (Info)

CONTRACT AWARDS BY
THE DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE

DEFENSE LOGISTICS AGENCY

Golden Eagle Refining Co., Inc., Los Angeles, CA is being awarded a \$51,846,300 fixed price contract for 75,000,000 gallons of JP-4 fuel. The Defense Logistics Agency is the contracting activity. (DLA600-79-D-0392).

ARMY

Kollsman Instrument Company, Division of Sun Chemical Corp., Merrimack, NH is being awarded a \$3,950,840 firm fixed price contract for 2,297 pressure type AAD-31/A altimeters for multi-aircraft application, following which six bids were solicited and three bids received. USA Troop Support and Aviation MR Command, St. Louis, MO is the contracting activity. (DMAJ09-00-C-0008).

NAVY

SCI Systems, Inc., Huntsville, AL is being awarded a \$5,557,320 modification to a previously awarded fixed price contract to exercise an option for teletype-writer units, recorder/reproducer units and ancillary items for the P-3A/B aircraft. The Naval Air Systems Command is the contracting activity. (N00019-78-C-0482).

Rockwell International Corporation, Collins Telecommunications Systems Div., Richardson, TX is being awarded a \$3,125,000 modification to a previously awarded fixed price contract for AN/USC-13(V) TACAMO airborne communication system and associated kits for government furnished EC-130 aircraft. The Naval Air Systems Command is the contracting activity. (N00019-79-C-0056).

Automation Industries, Inc., Vitro Laboratories Division, Silver Spring, MD is being awarded a \$22,780,150 negotiated cost plus award fee contract for 95,520 man-days to conduct ship design engineering and feasibility studies for shipboard combat systems. The Naval Sea Systems Command is the contracting activity. (N00024-79-C-7029).

MORE

Grumman Aerospace Corporation, Bethpage, Long Island, NY is being awarded a \$3,564,490 fixed price contract for services and materials for the maintenance of the P-3A aircraft (number 18). The Naval Air Systems Command is the contracting activity. (N00019-G-0100).

AIR FORCE

Northrop Corporation, Hawthorne, CA is being awarded a \$3,990,000 increase to a fixed price incentive fee contract for economic Aeronautical Systems Division, Wright Patterson AFB, OH is the contracting activity. (F33657-74-C-0628).

Burroughs Corp., Federal and Special Systems Group, McLean, VA is being awarded a \$3,974,000 order against firm fixed price definite quantity contract for rental and maintenance of ADPE for B3500 System performed at various locations throughout the United States. Sq, Randolph AFB, TX is the contracting activity. (F19628-79-C-0001).

Wayne H. Colony Company, Inc., Tallahassee, FL is being awarded a firm fixed price contract for 30 millimeter ammunition loading system. The Aeronautical Systems Division, Wright Patterson AFB, OH is the contracting activity. (F33657-79-C-0001).

Martin Marietta Corporation, Denver Division, Denver CO, is being awarded a \$21,118,956 face value increase to a fixed price incentive fee contract for launch support for the Titan program. Division, Los Angeles AFB, CA is the contracting activity.

RCA Service Company, a Division of RCA Corporation, Camden, NJ is being awarded a \$36,209,204 face value increase to a firm fixed price with economic price adjustment contract for exercise of third year option (FY 80) of 55 month contract for operation, maintenance and support services at 13 Alaskan Air Command aircraft and warning stations. HQ Alaskan Air Command, Elmendorf AFB, AK is the contracting activity. (F65517-77-C-0001).

The Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge, MA is being awarded a \$130,759,000 cost contract for research and development effort during FY 1980 for operation of Lincoln Laboratory, a Federal contract research center working in the field of advanced electronics for support of programs in behalf of the Air Force and other Government agencies, of which \$18,200,000 was obligated today. Work will be performed at Lexington, MA. HQ Electronic Systems Division, Hanscom AFB, MA is the contracting activity. (F19628-80-C-0002).

* Labor Surplus Area
**Small Business

--END--

AFTER THE FACT - October 2, 1979

DEFENSE LOGISTICS AGENCY

Ashland Petroleum Co., Ashland, KY is being awarded a \$30,324,000 fixed price contract with escalation contract for 50,000,000 gallons of JP-4 fuel. Defense Logistics Agency is the contracting activity. (DLA600-79-D-0380).

The Des Moines which?

Jimmy Who made the *Register* famous—and it's been making news ever since

by STEVE WEINBERG

Like Jimmy Carter, *The Des Moines Register* began its ascent to national prominence in 1975. For decades, the newspaper had been known among journalists as a "good reporter's paper," and a dozen Pulitzer Prizes gave it an aura among midwestern papers. But it was five years ago, as attention focused on the Iowa caucuses, that knowing Iowa became a high priority among political reporters and columnists across the country. And knowing Iowa meant keeping an eye on the *Register*—"the Newspaper Iowa Depends On," and one of the nation's leading statewide papers.

This winter, new developments combined to keep the paper in the news for several months: the 1980 Iowa caucuses had been certified by the media (including the *Register*) as the "new New Hampshire," the first major test of candidate strength. Capitalizing on this perception, the *Register* decided to sponsor debates among the Democratic and Republican candidates, to be held shortly before the January 21 precinct caucuses. Reporters who converged on Iowa sent back glowing accounts of the *Register*.

Bernard Weinraub, in *The New York Times* of January 4, wrote that the *Register's* substantial circulation figures "somehow fail to convey the leverage and leadership role of the newspaper in terms of its political coverage, its editorials and, in subtle

Steve Weinberg, who reported on business for The Des Moines Register, directs the University of Missouri School of Journalism Graduate Reporting Program in Washington, D.C. He was a coauthor of the article "Interlocking Directorates," which appeared in the November/December 1979 issue of the Review.

ways, the information and the background that the *Register* and its staff patiently impart to swarms of out-of-town reporters."

Washington Post reporter Bill Peterson, in a full-page November 24 story, wrote: "The *Register's* success in framing the public debate in Iowa, and in setting the agenda for politicians—home-grown as well as visiting—has few equals in the nation's political-journalistic power pageant."

Politicians had courted the *Register* before the Iowa caucuses became so vital; but now the courting was carried out with religious fervor. "First [politicians] study the paper for signs and portents," a December 17 *Time* magazine account reported. "Later they make a pilgrimage to the Des Moines Register and Tribune Building. Candidates seek the paper's blessing and pray for its endorsement."

The metaphor was not overblown. "Strategies in a campaign are sometimes woven around the timetable of the *Register's* Iowa Poll," observes Paul Wilson, a Washington, D.C., consultant who helped manage the re-election of Iowa Governor Robert Ray in 1978 and is currently working for presidential hopeful Howard Baker. "We think about things like when interviewing for the poll will take place and when the poll results will come out. The *Register* determines perceptions, and in a campaign perceptions can be everything. Politicians running in Iowa care more about the *Register* showing up than about television, and that's unusual in today's politics."

The Iowa Poll is operated by the paper; the debates were set up by the paper. If *The Des Moines Register* has been in the news, this is in large part because it *makes* news—an activity with implications that seem to have been overlooked in the rush to praise the paper.

The two men mainly responsible for the papers' present prominence are Michael Gartner and James Gannon. Both came to Des Moines

from *The Wall Street Journal*, where Gartner was editor of the *Journal's* admired front page and Gannon was the top political reporter. Gartner, a Des Moines native, arrived first—in 1974—to become editor of the *Register* and the afternoon *Tribune*. Four years later, having assumed the title of president of the parent company, he recruited Gannon to take over the editorship of the two papers. With Gartner and Gannon running the show, some staffers began calling the *Register* "Wall Street Journal-West." But the *Journal* has never managed to capture headlines the way the homely, ad-thin (39 percent), news-thick (61 percent) *Register* was grabbing them this winter.

The idea that the *R & T* should sponsor the candidates' debates originated not with Gannon, but with his wife, Joan. She made the suggestion over their breakfast table last summer. In August her editor-husband approached Carter aides with the idea; assured in November that the president would participate in the Democratic forum, Gannon then set about preparing an event that was guaranteed to provide the stuff of page-one stories and nightly news coverage by the networks. His decision to exclude California Governor Jerry Brown from the Democratic debate—on the ground that he was not conducting a serious campaign in Iowa—formed the basis for a spate of stories across the country.

Meanwhile, the *Register* itself was giving front-page play to this *Register*-created story. Typical is a piece that appeared on November 21—two weeks after the announcement that excluded Brown and twelve days before he was let in. Under a head that read BROWN OPENS BID FOR IOWA DELEGATES, political reporter David Yepsen and Iowa City bureau chief Jerald Heth wrote: "By [campaigning] in Iowa Brown said he hopes to get an invitation to debate with his rivals for the Democratic presiden-

tial nomination."

While reveling in its central role in the news, the *Register* also opened its pages to criticism of that role. On November 26 it reprinted a *New Republic* editorial, "Iowa Brownout," which attacked the paper for excluding Brown from the debate. Two days later Bill Peterson's *Washington Post* story was reprinted under the headline HOW DID SUCH A NICE NEWSPAPER GET INTO A MESS LIKE THIS? An accompanying editorial, R AND T IN THE NEWS, coyly protested that the *Register* really didn't like to make news.

While Gannon gave Brown a hard time until December 3, when he decided the Californian merited inclusion in the Democratic debate, Gannon's paper was being wooed by Carter. In December, Carter granted an exclusive White House interview to Gannon, Gartner, political reporter James Flansburg, Washington bureau chief James Risser, editorial page editor Gil Cranberg, and publisher David Kruidenier. Stories from the interview, with references to the upcoming debate, were played on page one on December 21 and again on December 23.

Then, in late December, Carter withdrew from the debate, forcing Gannon to cancel the Democratic forum. This provided the stuff of still more front-page coverage, some of it petulant. On December 30 the headline read: DEBATE DECISION: WILL CARTER SUFFER? As it turned out, he did not.

As for the Republican debate, which took place January 5, it, too, thrust the *Register* into the center of a political story the paper was covering. When Ronald Reagan announced he would not show up in Des Moines, other GOP presidential hopefuls attacked him for ducking the event—as did the *Register*, in editorials and, in effect, in news stories that continually reminded readers that the front-runner would not participate.

The *Register's* sponsorship of the debates, which made such a big splash nationally, is only the most recent and dramatic example of how the paper injects itself into the news. It is a pattern of journalistic behav-



*With best wishes
to Michael Gartner*

Among friends: the president and the R & T team (counterclockwise from the left: Gannon,

ior which, in Iowa itself, is more often a source of controversy than a cause for accolades. To cite one example: shortly after he was named editor, Gartner joined publisher Kruidenier in opposing a plan by a Des Moines trucking magnate to build a downtown hotel. The *Register* and the *Tribune* ran dozens of articles about the project in 1976 and 1977, before construction was formally announced, and on into 1978. "No hotel is worth that much space," comments one disgruntled *R & T* editor. "I can't imagine any other single construction project being covered like this." A business executive who supported the hotel says the coverage appeared to be "a deliberate attempt to sabotage the whole project." Kruidenier, leading the opposition in the business community, was quoted regularly by *R & T* reporters. Gartner supplied information from closed meetings of business leaders. Then, in the midst of the fray, the *Register* and *Tribune* Company invested \$500,000 in the project. This confused everyone so much that Gartner felt obliged to explain. The parent company didn't want to control the fate of the downtown project when the company was clearly in the minority, he wrote: "So we'll give them our money, but we won't lend our support."

While, for the most part, the pa-

pers take pains to lay bare their involvement and to open their pages to criticism of coverage, this begs the question of why they get so involved in the first place. Curiously, even *R & T* reporters were unaware of the in-house origin of one big news story that ran last winter. In November, back from a visit to Cambodian refugee camps, Governor Ray announced a program called Iowa SHARES (Iowa Sends Help to Aid Refugees and End Starvation.) Both the *Register* and the *Tribune* ran inspirational stories about contributions and lauded businesses that donated to the program. They even published coupons for contributors to use. Then, as Christmas neared, the *Register* sent religion editor William Simbro to Southeast Asia to cover the distribution of supplies. Only later did reporters learn that Iowa SHARES had been conceived by Gartner and a Ray aide.

There has been so much local criticism of *R & T* coverage—criticism based partly on the papers' involvement in news stories, partly on their being perceived as "out of step" with conservative Iowa—that opponents of the papers have talked about starting a competing publication. In a 1978 address to the Polk County Bar Association, Gartner observed: "I know



Jack Kightlinger, The White House

reau—usually a lifetime position at the *Register*: John Hyde went to the *Detroit Free Press*; James O'Shea, who had made the *Register's* Farm-Business section one of the most aggressive in the country, went to the *Chicago Tribune*. Others who have left during the last two years include Len Ackland, whose exposé of home-mortgage redlining by Iowa financial institutions won national awards; Norman Brewer, a veteran political writer; and crime reporter Greg Stricharchuk.

Some cite Gannon's attitude toward investigative reporting as a reason for leaving. One reporter comments: "He would rather not deal with the pressures and unpleasantness that come with investigative reporting. His strength is the *Wall Street Journal* feature." Mollenhoff, who now teaches journalism and freelances, adds: "The *Register* does too many round-ups, waits too long to go into print. It fails to see the value of grabbing readers with a continuing story."

Gannon is aware that many reporters perceive him as a soft-news editor who, after sixteen years at the *Journal*, has no feel for local coverage. "If by investigative journalism you mean turning over rocks and finding scandals, I've never been very good at it. I prefer a different kind, like what's happening here with mortgage rates and what does it mean to you, reader. The most important question in journalism is 'so what?' But it's hard to get reporters to focus on that question. I love to have great investigative pieces in the *R & T*, but I don't think I inspire a lot of those."

Gannon may not inspire great investigative pieces, but he does not stifle them, either. Says Washington bureau chief Risser, who has been with the *R & T* since 1964 and who won a Pulitzer for national reporting in 1976 and again last year, "You can write long stories without being cut, if you do a good job." Risser's conviction that the *Register* is one of the few true "reporter's papers" is shared by many staff members who have worked in other newsrooms.

The news mix in the Sunday *Register* of December 23—the Sunday

before Christmas and two weeks before the Democratic debate was to be held in Des Moines—reveals both editor Gannon's penchant for national politics and his reporters' zeal for probing. The major front-page story was an account by Flansburg and Risser of the paper's exclusive interview with President Carter. (It contained the usual reference to—or plug for—the newspaper-sponsored debate.) There was also a soft Knight-Ridder wire feature on Jesus. Other articles were tougher. One was an exposé of an Iowa turkey-processing plant that, with the sanction of the federal government, employed retarded laborers from Texas for take-home pay of \$66 a month. *Register* labor reporter Mike McGraw had gone to Texas for the story; reporter Margaret Engel, recently returned from a Nieman Fellowship at Harvard, did much of the Iowa legwork. Another front-pager was by farm editor Don Muhm, on whether the 1980s would mean boom or bust for the state's most precious resource, its farmland.

The mix may be good, but Iowans are canceling their subscriptions, nevertheless. The daily *Register* reached its circulation peak, 259,000, in 1969; the *Tribune*, with 157,000, in 1947; the Sunday *Register*, with 543,000, in 1952. Despite Gartner's and Gannon's efforts, each paper has continued its decline. The most recent yearly averages put the *Register* at 213,000, the *Tribune* at 86,000, and the showpiece Sunday paper at 402,000. The *Register*, meanwhile, still dominates the state and still sets the agenda for public discussion. "It ain't news 'til it's been in the *Register*" is a common expression among Iowa journalists.

The national publicity generated by the debates may be good for morale in the midst of the *R & T's* troubles, but it seems unlikely that it will lure back subscribers. Where are they going? Many Iowans outside the Des Moines area are canceling the *Register* because their local paper—inspired, perhaps, by the kind of reporting that wins Pulitzers for *R & T* reporters—is now good enough. ■

Carter

Kruidenier, Carter, Gartner, Cranberg, Risser)

that many in this audience have thought about what it would be like to get rid of the *R & T*. Wouldn't it be great if Gannett or Newhouse or Capital Cities bought up the *R & T* and turned its news pages into pabulum? No more controversy. No more profiles on law firms or prospective federal judges. . . . Would it make any difference to you? Would you really rather have pussy-cat newspapering than Pulitzer Prizes?"

While the *Register* rides out the storms over its involvement in, and coverage of, issues, other tempests have gusted up in the newsroom. Many of them swirl around executive editor Gannon. He was not warmly received when he arrived in Des Moines to take over from his friend Gartner. Many staff members resented the fact that long-time managing editor David Witke had been passed over. Moreover, Gannon, unlike Gartner and Witke, was not an Iowan and yet he was putting out a newspaper where the "Iowa angle," though often joked about, is rarely absent from reporters' thoughts.

A few top reporters had left under Gartner—among them, the *Register's* most famous staff member, Washington bureau chief Clark Mollenhoff; more left under Gannon. Two talented reporters left the paper's respected Washington bu-

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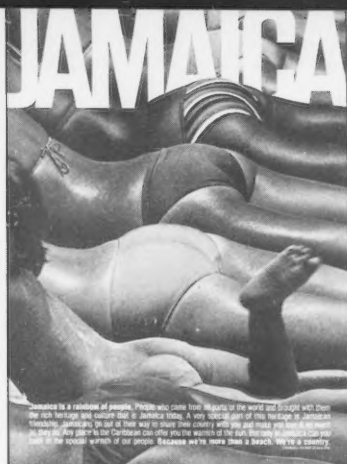
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TROUBLE IN PARADISE

In balmy Jamaica, the island's leading daily and the government are locked in a fight for survival.

While Prime Minister Manley gathers Third World support, the *Gleaner* turns to U.S. friends to defend "freedom of the press"

by ANDREW KOPKIND

KINGSTON

The news in Jamaica is all bad. The treasury is bare, the classes are warring, scandal is rife, violence is flaring, and last summer brought floods. But the bigger news this year is a story about the news itself: the wide and wounding war between the island's major newspaper and the government now in power.

It is no small story. The *Gleaner*—Jamaica's dominant daily—has stood as an immovable object in the island's social landscape for 145 years. It now confronts the government of Prime Minister Michael Manley and his Peoples National Party (PNP), which has swept along as an irresistible force in Jamaican politics for the better part of a decade. The result, so far, is a standoff: neither side will yield, but neither can yet triumph.

The clash between the island's leading newspaper and the Manley government is part of a drama being played out, often with violent results, throughout the Third World. In the Caribbean, the governments of Haiti and Grenada have clamped down on hostile journalists and, in Guyana, Prime Minister Forbes Burnham recently cut off newsprint supplies to the opposition paper, *The Mirror*. Elsewhere, newspapers have already helped topple regimes: Chile's *El Mercurio* is credited with subverting Allende's Marxist republic; Nicaragua's *La Prensa* led the fight against Somoza.

The issues involved in all of these conflicts—the role of powerful newspapers in climactic social crises, the use of news as a weapon of political warfare, the mobilization of support around the issue of press free-

dom—stand out in sharp relief against the tense Jamaican background, and the stakes become uncommonly clear.

The positions of the two sides are easy enough to describe: the *Gleaner* stands for capitalist enterprise, alliance with the West, and a conservative sensibility. Manley's government is moving toward socialist development, Third World alignment, and an insurgent spirit. But that is just the snapshot view, the quick fix for the nightly news or the weekly review. The daily course of battle reveals the complexities of the conflict as the *Gleaner* reports and editorializes on what it considers the incompetence, corruption, and totalitarianism of the administration and the ruling party. Many of the paper's journalistic themes coincide with those voiced by the opposition Jamaica Labour Party (JLP) and its leader, Edward Seaga: SEAGA: KINGSTON BE-

Castro pays Manley a visit in 1977: the prime minister gains a friend—and some hostile headlines



Andrew Kopkind, whose article on The MacNeil/Lehrer Report appeared in the September/October Review, is a staff writer for The Village Voice.

COMING THE SUBVERSION CAPITAL OF CARIB., announced the *Gleaner's* front-page banner one day last October. Other headlines read: JLP DEMANDS PROBE OF POLICE 'RAMPAGE'; PUBLIC SECTOR LABOUR UNREST CONTINUES; SOMEBODY HAS TO STAND UP FOR JAMAICA—SEAGA. Day after day, the headlines hammer away not only at the government's policies but at its very legitimacy.

Inside, a combat brigade of columnists has been sniping at the *Gleaner's* enemies in the PNP. "These men are irresponsible political juveniles," wrote Wilmot Perkins. "It is now almost impossible to argue in public; one can only abuse," wrote David D'Costa. "If Michael Manley stays in power much longer there is not only increased misery but murder at the end of the road," concluded John Hearne.

But the *Gleaner* is no mere mouthpiece for Seaga and his JLP. It also formulates strategies and orchestrates their execution—as in the pivotal campaign it waged last summer against Cuba's ambassador to Jamaica, Ulises Estrada, whom the paper used to symbolize the evils attributed to Manley's government: seduction by Castroism, affinity for Latin and African radicalism, repression of the press. In many ways, in fact, the *Gleaner* carries more clout than the politicians whose views it favors. "When you come down to it," says Kingston lawyer and journalist Ronald Thwaites, "the *Gleaner* is the opposition."

Across the battle lines, Manley's PNP government charges the *Gleaner* with mendacity, lack of patriotism, and subversion. "It's one of the most corrupt journals publishing in the English language," Manley told a private gathering of friends and journalists in his suite at the Plaza Hotel in New York, during a visit last fall. He blames the paper for creating a climate of social tension and political violence, which it then presents as news to its local readers and journalistic contacts abroad. The result, Manley says, is civil instability and foreign suspicion, which together could make the country increasingly difficult to govern. Manley supporters tell me that he is convinced that the *Gleaner's* goal is not merely to topple his administration but to return to power the landed and monied interests which have suffered from recent socialist policies and austerity measures. This "plantocracy" fears continued government attempts to parcel out agricultural lands to peasants, expand state enterprise, and control investments and imports.

Gleaner chairman and managing director Oliver Clarke acknowledges a certain class basis to the conflict. "The business community here feels it is under siege from the government," Clarke tells me, "and it looks to the *Gleaner* to be its advocate for free enterprise and a Western style of life."

The *Gleaner's* advocacy finds resonance in major newspapers and magazines in North America and Britain; *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, *The Miami Herald*, *Newsweek*, and the London *Daily Telegraph*, among others, seem to accept and repeat

the *Gleaner's* perspectives on Jamaica at face value. The *Gleaner* frequently reprints reports of local events from the foreign press and often amplifies the stories in its news columns. A FREE PRESS AT STAKE IN JAMAICA, read the head over one such reprint of a James Nelson Goodsell article in the *Christian Science Monitor*: "One of the Caribbean's oldest and most courageous newspapers is fighting for its life," read the text. "But free-press supporters outside Jamaica are rushing to its defense."

The *Gleaner's* influential allies also include important regional press groups, such as the Miami-based Inter-American Press Association (IAPA) and the Caribbean Publishing & Broadcasting Association (CPBA). But nothing promoted its international prestige last year as much as the special citation of merit it received from the Maria Moors Cabot Prizes, awarded by Columbia University's Graduate School of Journalism. The citation honored the *Gleaner* for earning "the wholehearted esteem of all who value freedom through its unbiased, fearless and comprehensive reporting and its high standards of journalism."

The Manley government has its overseas friends, too, but they are increasingly detached from Western centers of power. While he has tried to maintain Jamaica's traditional ties to the United States and to the West—which still provide the bulk of the country's aid and business—the prime minister has recently emerged as a leader of the nonaligned nations. This rope dance is a death-defying act, requiring quick reverses and leaps of alliance: while last summer Manley condemned President Carter's moves against the Soviet brigade in Cuba, this winter at the United Nations he voted with the U.S. against the Russians and the Cubans on Afghanistan.

In the final analysis, of course, the contest between the government and the *Gleaner* is about power: each party believes, or at least claims to believe, that its survival is at stake. Tolerances are fine and balances delicate in the social machinery of this small, poor, newly independent island nation of two million people. The opposition of a single paper can not only bring down a government but wreck its entire program of social reform. By the same token, one act of government, such as the restriction of newsprint imports, could silence the only powerful voice of the opposition. Almost everyone here would agree with the conclusion of writer and radio commentator John Maxwell, a persistent *Gleaner* foe: "It is *journalism* that today is the major political issue in Jamaica, and it is right that it should be."

Of mythic proportions

Both protagonists in the conflict occupy central roles in the life and imagination of the island. To friend and foe alike, Manley is a charismatic personality of heroic stature; the *Gleaner* is, equally unarguably, the island's leading cultural institution. Moreover, their struggle takes on almost mythic proportions by being rooted so deeply in Jamaican history—centuries of

slavery; a long struggle against British dominion; the trials of independence within a tightly defined economic framework; and the search for a national cultural identity which every Jamaican can share.

To an American visitor, the *Gleaner* may seem a bit amateurish to have assumed such a pivotal role. Slightly wider and longer than *The New York Times*, it typically prints about 50,000 copies of a daily edition containing twenty to thirty pages and circulates 82,000 copies on Sunday; its afternoon sibling, a racy tabloid called the *Star*, has a circulation of about 45,000. (The government-owned *Jamaica Daily News*, by contrast, has a daily circulation of only about 10,000.) The *Gleaner's* circulation seems small until one considers that a third of the population is illiterate and that the paper's cost (2.55 Jamaican dollars for seven issues) represents a sizable part of the average weekly income of fifty Jamaican (twenty-eight American) dollars. Almost everyone who can afford the *Gleaner*, and who lives where newspapers are available, reads it.

The paper itself is resolutely insular. The front page of a recent issue was led by a story headlined LOSS OF BRITISH BANANA MARKET JUST AVERTED accompanied by a two-column photograph of a bunch of bananas. Another front-page head announced SUGAR CROP STARTS TODAY; a third reported on a new government contract with a Canadian aluminum company. Stories bearing a foreign dateline were similarly played for their local interest—as well as for their political content. One, for instance, headlined MANLEY: PR BOYS HAVE OUR BACKING, played up (inaccurately, as it turns out from the story) the prime minister's views on Puerto Rican independence, a very controversial subject in Jamaica. Another reported that the European Economic Community and fifty-eight developing nations had signed a new trade agreement in Togo. The point could hardly escape Jamaican readers: Manley's impulse to move out of the Western orbit might deny the country the benefits of the EEC trade pact. Inside stories reported a Mexican air disaster, the cement shortage in Trinidad, and SOVIET FORCES IN CUBA NOW HAVE LOW PROFILE—VANCE.


Like many less controversial newspapers, the *Gleaner* is more often dull than dashing. The instances of editorial savagery are few—if increasingly frequent—and therefore memorable. But the persistence of the paper's campaign against Manley, its very banality, infiltrate readers' consciousness more effectively, perhaps, than would an uninterrupted stream of horror-tale headlines. Many of the stories that both the *Gleaner* and the Manley government consider hostile, in fact, seem trivial when viewed from outside the charged emotional and political context in which they were published. The more complicated charges leveled by the paper do not admit of easy verdicts. Among them, some of the more serious (along with the government's responses):



□ In 1978 the paper charged that Jamaican army officers had lured a band of eleven youths to a firing range at Green Bay by saying they would arm them for ghetto warfare, and had then ambushed them, killing five. The reports claimed that the government had approved of this action as a means of terrorizing slum gangs, and that it had then directed a cover-up. (Manley ordered an investigation of the matter; the killings were described as having been the work of renegade police and military functionaries acting without government knowledge. *Gleaner* writer David D'Costa, who wrote much of the Green Bay story, maintains that the investigation was itself part of the cover-up.)

□ Columnist John Hearne, a well-known novelist and former Manley aide who has turned against the prime minister, accused Manley in an August 1978 article of ordering the torture of certain prisoners accused of politically related crimes. Debate has winnowed Hearne's case down to one incident in which a political detainee may have been tortured or mistreated during a state of emergency Manley imposed in 1976. Manley's "order" of the torture, Hearne now says, amounts





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More importantly, there *are* safe methods for disposing of this waste, as other nations have discovered. The United Kingdom and France have been reprocessing and solidifying nuclear waste with success since the 1960s. In Canada, solidified nuclear wastes have been tested successfully under a wide range of circumstances for twenty years.

The Swedish Parliament has endorsed an official program for the safe disposal of nuclear waste.

In America, nuclear power plants have been operating for twenty years. The small amounts of waste produced have been safely isolated. But the United States government has been slow to decide on a long-term nuclear waste management solution. But solutions *do* exist. As was stated by the American Physical Society, "Safe and reliable management of nuclear waste and control of radioactive effluents *can* be accomplished."

Permanent Waste Storage

One solution favored by other nations is this one: once the fuel has been used at a nuclear power plant, it undergoes a chemical separation process in which most of the leftover fuel is recycled for future use. The remaining waste is then converted to solid form and sealed in stainless steel containers.

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Utilizing this process guarantees that the active wastes will be effectively removed from our environment forever.

Time To Move Forward

Other nations are moving forward with nuclear power because their leaders realize that continued dependency on foreign oil is unthinkable. Their energy policies are based on the premise that *all* practical alternative sources must be developed—coal, solar, geothermal, and nuclear.

Solutions to the safe disposal of nuclear wastes exist. What is *really* needed is a willingness on the part of our nation's leaders to decide which solution is best for America—so we can get on with the task of developing our energy resources.

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to his statutory responsibility as commander in chief; there is no evidence Manley knew of the incident when it occurred. (The prime minister has sued Hearne for libel over the story.)

□ The *Gleaner* reports relentlessly on what it terms the failures and inadequacies of the government's economic programs. It has claimed that a plan to break up plantations for use by small farmers has drastically curtailed agricultural production, and that export of bauxite—Jamaica's leading mineral resource—has declined since the government raised mining taxes and bought part-ownership in the island's foreign-owned mining companies. (The Manley government admits to serious economic problems, but it attributes them in large part to world conditions outside its control. Thus, Jamaica's failure to meet financial goals set by the International Monetary Fund in exchange for a series of loans beginning in 1977 is explained as the consequence of inflation, not maladministration. The country's oil-import bill, for instance, has soared from \$44 million in 1972 to \$880 million last year. More pointedly, Manley accuses the *Gleaner* of having created many of the problems it has attributed to his leadership. As he sees it, reports that play up violence and communism are intended to frighten off investors and tourists.)

Most loudly of all, the *Gleaner* charges that the government is preparing to stifle the newspaper by political and economic means, including street demonstrations, restrictive legislation, and limitations on newsprint supplies. "The PNP has totalitarian instincts," says *Gleaner* columnist Wilmot Perkins. "It aspires to permanence in power." So, he believes, Manley's party must ultimately silence "the only institution that can bring the lying of the government and the ministers to light"—the *Gleaner*.

To the government, the *Gleaner* represents a small Jamaican elite that fears its privileges are being eroded by programs calling for radical reforms and the redistribution of wealth. This small group, it believes, with the *Gleaner* leading the way, wants to reverse the historical course Jamaica has taken since the PNP won its first electoral victory in 1972 and, together with political and corporate interests in the United States and Britain, reestablish Jamaica as a neocolonial outpost. "If the *Gleaner* and Seaga win," a Manley assistant tells me, "they'll want to turn back the clock to 1960, and to do that they'll have to tighten the screws. It won't be just a conservative regime; it will be something close to fascism."

Season of bitterness

Months of conflict came to a head last September 24, when, exasperated by coverage in the previous day's edition, Manley angrily adjourned a cabinet meeting and marched most of his ministers to a protest demonstration before the *Gleaner*'s gate. There he joined leaders of the Marxist-oriented Workers Party for a rally that featured expressions of Cuban-Jamaican solidarity, along with denunciations of the *Gleaner*.



The government takes to the streets: stung by *Gleaner*

The confrontation was the fruit of a season of bitterness that saw tensions grow and politics become polarized as never before. "We've always been critical of the Manley government," says Oliver Clarke, "but in the last few months we've had a different tone." As the economy crumbled, as violence erupted in Kingston's volatile slums, and as red scares were loosed in the land, *Gleaner* charges and Manley countercharges exploded with new intensity.

The escalation began early last summer with the *Gleaner*'s campaign against Cuba's new ambassador, Ulises Estrada. In a major story published in late June, before Estrada arrived in Kingston, the paper reported that members of the opposition JLP suspected Estrada of being a Cuban intelligence officer with links to African and Palestinian revolutionary movements. Should these suspicions be confirmed, the newspaper declared, the JLP would "launch demonstrations and pursue him to every corner until he departs." Subsequent editions of the *Gleaner* elaborated on the threat by playing up JLP leader Seaga's charges that "over 5,000 Cubans" were already in the country and that Manley was planning to close the *Gleaner* and to establish a "Cuban-style apparatus" in Jamaica.

In July, Estrada flew into Kingston. Asked at a press conference to comment on the *Gleaner*'s allegations, Estrada called them "lies," and added: "We have means to answer all over the world and to begin to say our truths. . . . If war is declared by anyone, the Cuban revolution has always been characterized by accepting the challenge, and as Comrade Fidel has said, 'When the Cubans say we fight, we fight seriously.'"



The Daily Gleaner

coverage, the cabinet joins a September 24 march on the paper

Manley chose to interpret Estrada's retorts as metaphor; the *Gleaner* took them literally, as threats of violent reprisals. In Kingston, the street demonstrations which the *Gleaner* had predicted in June began, as the JLP called out protestors to demand the ambassador's expulsion.

The *Gleaner* provided the daily call to battle. In edition after edition, the "Estrada affair" filled news and comment pages alike. The paper's September 22 front page, for example, bannered MORE CONDEMNATIONS OF ESTRADA'S THREAT, a story which was accompanied by a sidebar headlined in red letters AMBASSADOR INVOLVED IN 'IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE.' Manley and his ministers denied the *Gleaner's* charges (which were never documented) that Estrada was a master spy and terrorist *capo*, and they called the *Gleaner's* characterization of Estrada's statements "malicious lies." But, urged on by the *Gleaner*, the street marches escalated during the summer and early fall.

The polemical peak was reached on September 23, the day before Manley lead his demonstration, when the paper bannered MOUNTING TOURIST CANCELLATIONS across three columns on the front page. The story reported that hotels in the North Shore resorts were swamped with cancellations from American tourists "following [Manley's] anti-American speech at the Non-Aligned Summit in Havana." It added that his statements "could seriously affect the predicted bumper 1979-1980 winter tourist season." Few news stories could have shocked Jamaicans more; tourism is the country's second largest industry, a major source of foreign exchange, an essential means of financial survival.

But that wasn't all. Next to the "tourist cancellations" story was a large chart reporting a *Gleaner* poll

that showed the PNP trailing the JLP in popular support and losing ground to the Workers Party on the left. And, in the ultimate addition of personal insult to political injury, the paper carried a full-page "poster" advertisement calling Manley a "JUDAS" (in giant block letters) who had "sold out Jamaica to the Cubans for less than 30 pieces of silver!" The ad was signed by a spurious "League for Social and Economic Reform" which has never been identified as a legitimate organization and which was assumed by Jamaicans in both major parties to be a creature of the JLP. (Asked whether the committee actually existed, *Gleaner* editor Hector Wynter, a former JLP chairman, just shrugs and smiles.)

Both the substance and the style of the paper were startling even for *Gleaner* readers. Manley was humiliated, his finance minister was devastated. And so, with that edition, the government itself went into the streets. Arriving at the *Gleaner* building on North Street, Manley climbed into the back of a truck, which served as the speakers' platform, and waited for silence. "I have no speech to make," he told the crowd. "You have made the speech for me and you have made the speech for the progressive forces. . . . But next time . . . next time. . . ." Not only the crowd in North Street but also the *Gleaner's* editors and managers behind the windows overlooking the scene were left to wonder what strictures the prime minister might have in mind.

Part of the answer became clear in mid-October, when, further angered by *Gleaner* coverage, a PNP delegation—including five cabinet ministers and the party's general secretary—stalked into the *Gleaner's* offices to answer the paper's accusations and to present a dossier of countercharges. The group reviled the managers and editors for "publishing articles which are calculated to undermine the confidence of the Jamaican people in public institutions" and "breach the normal standards of decency." The delegates claimed the *Gleaner* was "inciting the people to overthrow the duly constituted government of the country." This went beyond mere political opposition, remarked one of the PNP officials in attendance, who also conceded the right of the *Gleaner* "to give support to the free enterprise system" and "to be pro-imperialist." Said the speaker: "What we charge the *Gleaner* with is that it has breached that basic responsibility" to be "objective and to be fair."

Other PNP officials at the meeting presented the government's responses to the sensational stories run by the *Gleaner*. But the real drama of the event was produced more by what was *not* said—by the history that divided the participants, by class conflict, racial tension, political polarization, and the cultural ambivalence that assails the country's elite. Both sides are reported to have been shaken: the PNP because it took on the surviving symbols of colonial power in person; the *Gleaner* because it felt the rage of its enemies face to face. The two sides use the event now for their own

purposes. The government claims it has taken the offensive to prove its case against the paper. The *Gleaner* says the delegates' visit was an example of intimidation and an implicit threat to press freedom.

Months later, however, talking to an outsider, some *Gleaner* writers are willing to abandon the official *Gleaner* position—that the paper is doing nothing more than reporting the news. "This has been a ferocious campaign," columnist Hearne tells me. "It would be idle to pretend that there has not been a systematic attack on the government by the *Gleaner*. For myself, my one intention is to get this man Manley out of office, by any fair means at hand."

A social contract

Despite the rhetoric of the September 24 demonstration before the *Gleaner's* gates, the Manley government has so far limited itself to replying to the paper with libel suits, verbal attacks in interviews and press conferences, and the ministerial meeting. "The *Gleaner* has been extremely dangerous—ruthless—because they know we're committed to press freedom," Manley said bitterly in his New York meeting. "We've been meticulous about setting down our respect for freedom of the press."

While Manley's ideological commitment to democratic freedoms may be one restraining factor, so, too, is his political sense. He is well aware that the *Gleaner* has the ear of foreign journalists and politicians who together can make or break an economy still heavily dependent on Western business, tourism, aid, and credits. A final solution of the *Gleaner* problem would—as a Jamaican teacher put it delicately—place Manley "on the other side of President Carter's human rights issue."

But there is something else about the *Gleaner* which may explain Manley's commitment to its survival: its importance as a cultural institution, one whose very name is invoked by Jamaicans as a synonym for "newspaper" when they ask for "a gleaner" in New York or London. As Jamaicans struggle to achieve an authentic national identity in the wake of centuries of colonialism, the *Gleaner* has something to offer them—whether they like it or not—and that is *legitimacy*. For whatever the political consequences of independence, the cultural links between modern Jamaica and its colonial past remain powerful, particularly for the middle class.

The *Gleaner*, in fact, is the most important institution to survive the colonial period. Founded in the nineteenth century by the deCordovas, a family of Portuguese Jews, the paper developed into the voice of the ruling white plantocracy and of the small, predominantly white, commercial elite. Independence, won in 1962, did not alter the paper's colonial-era outlook. The Ashenheims, who married into the deCordova family and now control the largest block of the paper's stock, are interlocked into most major enterprises in Jamaica; Oliver Clarke, the *Gleaner's* present chairman, is the scion of the family that owns one of Jamai-

ca's biggest plantations, "Paradise," on the island's southwestern tip. Clarke is white; Jamaica is 95 percent nonwhite. He is irretrievably a member of the plantocracy, which is now trying to protect its status, despite pressure from the "brown" middle class and the black peasantry and urban masses.

Much of the *Gleaner's* potency derives from its plantocratic traditions, its orientation toward the best of Britain and the wealth of America. But the *Gleaner* is no longer a purely "white" institution; the complex political sociology of the island does not break down into discrete racial categories. Nor are the paper's class allies confined to the old colonial elite. In fact, the complexities of race and class on the island give the conflict between Manley and the *Gleaner* its special texture. Manley himself, for example, is a leading member of a new Jamaican elite—the light-skinned, British-educated, native bourgeoisie which organized a "brown revolution" against the colonial plantocracy in the 1930s and which came to power at independence.

Until the mid-seventies, there was a tacit agreement between the leading political forces—confirmed, in an important measure, by the *Gleaner*—to maintain the structure of institutional relationships that existed in 1962. The JLP—supported by the *Gleaner* as the party of the white colonial remnants, the plantation peasantry, and unionized labor dependent on industry and tourism—emphasized foreign investment, maintenance of the plantation economy, and a free hand for the foreign bauxite extractors. The more nationalistic PNP—comprising a coalition of newly urbanized black poor and the brown middle class which wanted a share of the wealth and status still in the hands of overseas whites—emphasized expansion of local business, a greater Jamaican share in the profits from bauxite, and the development of national cultural institutions. But these were differences in emphasis within a general consensus that assumed Jamaica would primarily follow a Western and capitalist road with only brief excursions into nationalist welfarist byways. The system seemed to be working well; the sixties brought a strong bauxite market and a tourism boom. A social contract seemed possible.

The JLP was in power from independence through the prosperous years until 1972, and the *Gleaner* generally supported its administration. Toward the end of the decade, however, the paper began to pick at the ruling party for the failures of management and innovation common to entrenched administrations. The *Gleaner's* unhappiness with the JLP helped Manley and the PNP win the elections of 1972. But since the PNP's platform staked out positions well within the post-independence consensus, the *Gleaner* could fairly expect business-as-usual from the Manley administration. Manley had defined his party's ideology as "democratic socialism," but he had always left the term conveniently vague, so that policies of opportunity could be pursued without risking ideo-



both The Daily Gleaner



The battle is joined: the Gleaner meets its accusers, October 11. Top (from left), Gleaner directors Richard Ashenheim, Oliver Clarke, Hector Wynter, Leslie Ashenheim, Theodore Sealey, and Clifton Neita. Bottom (center), PNP executive chairman Dudley Thompson

logical integrity. Grateful for the paper's support, Manley had seized the occasion of the opening of the *Gleaner's* new offices on North Street in 1970 to praise it. "This is a truly great newspaper," he gushed. "It is sometimes difficult to tell whether your paper is an extension of Jamaica's collective personality, or whether that personality is an extension of your paper."

The gyre widens

Less than a decade later, Manley's praise had turned to scorn. In that short span of years, Jamaican life had broken sharply along several faults. The consensus that had held together the Jamaican system—a basic agreement on political forms, economic direction, and social relations—had ruptured.

By the time Manley came up for re-election in 1976, Jamaica's economic position had deteriorated. The demand for bauxite had fallen off; the market for sugar—the island's primary agricultural export—had sagged; and, meanwhile, the price of oil was soaring. As inflation and stagnation weakened Western economies, foreign investment dried up, bringing the country to the brink of bankruptcy.

The myriad—and interconnected—economic hardships of the seventies produced a climate of bitterness between the government and the *Gleaner*, even as they also began to polarize politics and society. Manley's strategy for survival had domestic and international components: extensive socialist development for a

more self-sufficient economy at home—including land reform, diversification of agriculture, expansion of state-run enterprises—and new alliances with noncapitalist countries abroad to help finance the domestic programs. Preparing for the 1976 elections, PNP secretary D.K. Duncan systematically mobilized the most beleaguered part of the population—the unemployed poor of the West Kingston ghettos—into an unbeatable electoral organization. To the PNP, "DK" was a political marvel; to the *Gleaner*, he was a dangerous radical.

As the PNP developed its new platform for the 1976 elections, the *Gleaner* began warning its readers that Manley's program entailed revolutionary change in Jamaica's political economy, that private investment would fall off, and that tourists would be frightened away. The newspaper's fears reflected those of the JLP, which, under Seaga, recently elected as its leader, was moving toward the right.

Political differences turned into social crisis in the summer of 1976, a few months before the elections, when Manley's government declared a state of emergency after claiming to have discovered a plot among opposition militants. The government charged that they planned to launch a campaign of civil disorder that would wound the economy, discredit the administration, and so destabilize the society that its democratic foundations might crumble. With the example of Allende's Chile—destabilized only three years earlier—foremost in party leaders' minds, the PNP accused the United States of supporting the campaign.

The JLP charged the emergency was merely an invention to subvert the democratic process during the election. The *Gleaner* kept up a barrage of warnings about a communist threat to Jamaica, and its reports were soon reflected in American newspapers and magazines: *The New York Times*, *Newsweek*, and *Business Week* carried scare stories, and a great fear swept through the Jamaican and foreign business communities like a hurricane. The aluminum companies reduced their production by 30 percent. American aid was cut. Jamaica was unable to find a single American bank to give the government a loan, while wealthy Jamaicans and foreigners spirited \$300 million out of the country. Private investment dried up. Tourism revenues fell by half.

If, as PNP supporters claimed, the *Gleaner's* stories were part of a campaign to discredit the Manley administration just before the election, the tactic did not work: the PNP went on to win a smashing victory. But almost from the moment of triumph, Manley was obliged to discard much of his electoral program and, faced with an acute fiscal crisis, to turn for help to the International Monetary Fund.

Primarily a creature of American foreign economic policy, the IMF required that Jamaica comply with rules designed to keep its programs consistent with American models for economic development. The fund

demanding a drastic devaluation of the local currency, liberal allowances for the export of capital and profits by foreign investors, controls on wages, and the removal of controls on prices. As a result, the cost of living skyrocketed—and in 1978 alone the standard of living for most Jamaicans dropped 35 percent.

Manley paid dearly. The left wing of his party, led by Duncan, walked out en bloc when Manley agreed to the IMF demands, and the communist Workers Party suddenly seemed able to command 5 to 10 percent of the national vote, according to various polls. The prime minister found himself isolated in a shrinking middle ground—unable, on the one hand, to rouse his popular base with promises of radical change, and incapable, on the other, of convincing the business community that he could manage the country along traditional lines.

Discerning Manley's vulnerability, his enemies attacked. Once again siding with the JLP, the *Gleaner* struck repeatedly at the government's economic failures, and, as last summer's heat set in, the paper promoted the opposition's campaign to topple the government with street demonstrations, the agitation against Cuban ambassador Estrada, and the consolidation of foreign support around the issue of press freedom.

Manley was faced with the choice of placating his foes in the JLP by adopting programs that would win favor among Western governments and investors, or moving decisively to the left. Finally, believing that the IMF and other Western development strategists were placing unacceptable strains on Jamaican society, and, moreover, that Western economies were no longer able to provide sufficient development assistance, Manley chose to go left. The most dramatic evidence of his decision was D.K. Duncan's return to the PNP as party secretary last summer, when he began organizing in the ghettos and outlying cities as he had successfully done for the 1976 election.

The *Gleaner* and its friends now fear that if Manley does manage to stay in power (he must call elections before March 1982), Jamaica will forsake the "Westminster model" of parliamentary democracy in favor of authoritarian rule. In that process, they believe, the *Gleaner* will be taken out of the hands of its present owners and managers. Such fears have been fed by statements such as one made to a Press Association dinner by Arnold Bertram, the minister of information and culture. The *Gleaner*'s "negativism," he told the journalists, is "not freedom of the press; this is freedom of property. They simply own the press and from this position dictate what is to be put in it." Those more favorably disposed toward the Manley government saw nothing more in Bertram's distinction than a Caribbean echo of A.J. Liebling's famous dictum that "freedom of the press is guaranteed only to those who own one."

Whether the *Gleaner*'s provocations and the government's enmity will actually lead to repression is still debatable—and continuously debated in Kingston. But the *Gleaner* is deliberately building its defenses

against such moves as may come. The paper's close association with the Inter-American Press Association has been of great help in that regard. *Gleaner* chairman Clarke is a member of the IAPA's executive committee, as well as a member of its Freedom of the Press Committee. The IAPA, in turn, is extensively interlocked with the Cabot Prize Committee, whose award to the *Gleaner* last fall was an important political event in the battle with Manley's government. IAPA general manager James B. Canel is one of the nine board members of the Cabot committee who decide each year's winners.

The Cabot citation was a major story in the *Gleaner* on the day of its presentation in New York (JOURNALISM AWARD FROM COLUMBIA U.; GLEANER HONOURED FOR HIGH STANDARD), and it figured in prominent articles for weeks afterwards. "I don't believe that the Cabot citation to the *Gleaner* is part of some conspiratorial plot," one of Manley's aides says. "But it definitely served as a signal down here that the United States is displeased with the direction of the Manley government."

Trouble in paradise always takes time to detect: the tropics splash a lush and lazy humor across the surface of the most desperate scenes. Not that Kingston is an obvious Eden; the capital contains more than a third of the island's population, crowded into shanty towns whose wretchedness is unrelieved by the vista of high-rise hotels and, beyond, the Blue Mountain foothills, among which lie the shady suburbs, perched out of harm's way.

The tension runs high in Kingston, and the social polarization is so extreme that everyone is drawn into the drama—even a visitor who comes down for a few days—and every incident is charged with significance. To talk to Jamaicans is to learn that few common assumptions survive or agreements exist. There is really no longer a social contract here, and the question of how Jamaican society is to be ordered remains to be answered. Differences over rights and privileges within the social order now resolve themselves into one primary question: Who shall rule?

It is easy for Americans to resort to First Amendment principles and the certitudes of a consensual society. But in Jamaica such concepts as freedom of the press or loyal opposition no longer have an absolute definition. "We all believe in freedom," a teacher friend says one afternoon as we stroll across the campus of the University of the West Indies on the outskirts of Kingston. "But we do not agree on what it means. Does it mean the freedom to destroy freedom? The freedom of the powerful to deny the freedom of the weak? Or will it be the freedom of the many poor to gain power over the few rich?"

"It's getting to that point down here," he continues. "This is no abstract argument about freedom of the press. This is a bloody class struggle, man, and you're in the middle of it. You'll be lucky to get out of here alive."

This is the first and last article CJR will run about press coverage of foreign policy during the presidential campaign

by ROGER MORRIS

Nonissues

It is important that candidates not be drawn foolishly into the nonissues of foreign policy. Nonissues are those not being reported extensively at the moment. For example, human rights is a nonissue because the administration has taken care of it. Central American revolutions are a nonissue because they do not seem to be happening—yet. SALT III, the implications of fallout and civil defense, and a whole new generation of weaponry are nonissues because the Soviets have invaded Afghanistan and the Senate has tabled the SALT II treaty. Dependence on foreign oil is a nonissue because everyone agrees it is a problem.

Allies (I)

Senator Kennedy is shown below losing the Iowa caucus, and perhaps the Democratic nomination. When Kennedy tells a television interviewer that the ex-shah's



regime was "one of the most violent . . . in the history of mankind," he is editorially upbraided for exaggerating, shattering national unity, and for not having spoken up when this photo was taken in 1975. Predictably, the follow-up focuses on whether Kennedy has "hurt" his candidacy. Thus, readers are spared any reporting on the nature of the shah's rule and its relation to the present U.S. predicament; why the administration has not commented on the subject either before or after the hostage seizure; whether national unity was *really* divided; or the impact of such statements on the captors in Teheran. Such coverage not only conserves journalistic energy but helps to

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fulfill editorial prophecies that Kennedy has hurt his candidacy. Who could ask for anything more?

A brush with Bush

George Bush is reported to "brush over" his experience as director of the CIA, ambassador to the United Nations and to China, and chairman of the Republican National Committee during Watergate. Having reported this, the press, too, brushes over Bush's past.

Itineraries

Countries which Republican candidates (on the advice of Henry Kissinger) are unlikely to visit to demonstrate their previous proficiency in foreign policy: Cyprus, Chile, Angola, Bangladesh, Ethiopia, USSR.

Countries which President Carter and the Democrats will forgo for similar reasons: Nicaragua, Panama, Zaire, Korea, Taiwan, USSR.

New Ideas

Ronald Reagan comes up with a bold new foreign policy idea when, in announcing his candidacy, he proposes that the United States should closely ally itself with Mexico and Canada for a new interdependence and self-sufficiency of North America.

As if bowled over by this novel concept, reporters fail to dig into Reagan's record as governor of California on Mexican immigration, much less to grapple with such questions as 1) how Mexico resembles Iran, 2) how the State Depart-

ment's image of Mexico resembles Mexico, 3) how Reagan's proposal resembles a policy.

An important discovery

At a little-known dig in southern Illinois, researchers have unearthed traces of fossilized foreign policy relics. Findings include a world food and fuel shortage,



Photo Researchers

population growth, South Africa, refugees in Indochina, rebellion in Morocco, a crushing debt burden on the Third World, and Andrew Young.

Allies (II)

General Mohammad Zia ul-Haq, shaky, unpopular dictator of Pakistan and new bulwark against Russian aggression across the Hindu Kush, tells American reporters in mid-January that he expects to remain in power "for the next few years."

There are no famous photographs of presidential candidates shaking hands with Zia, and none is so improvident as to characterize his regime before it has fallen.

Poses

"If the Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini were sick—notwithstanding what they have done with those 50 hostages—if Khomeini were sick and asked to come to the United States, I would let him in."

Howard Baker, in Concord, New Hampshire, as reported, without further elaboration, by the AP.

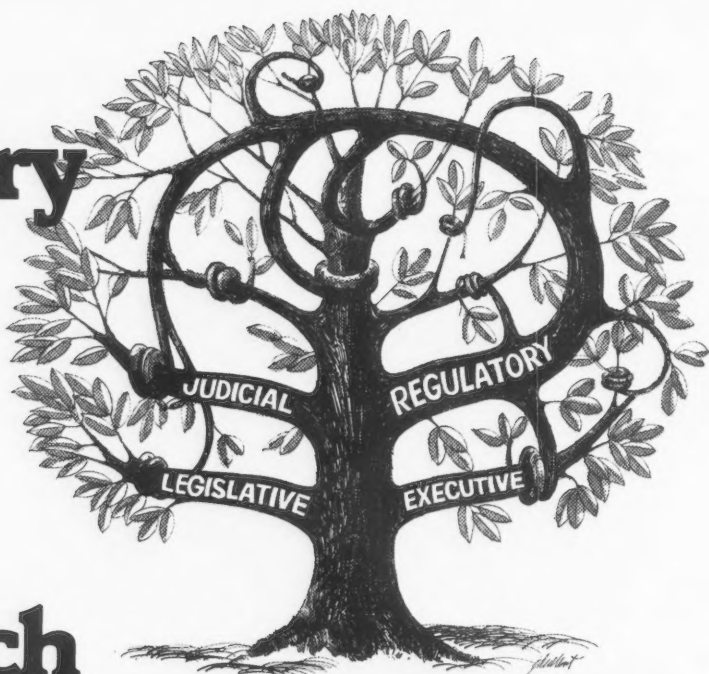
"This is an act of war." Ronald Reagan, campaigning on the Iranian issue in Nashua, New Hampshire.

" . . . several candidates cannot even be coaxed into taking a position." *The Christian Science Monitor*, January 18, 1980.

"It is, on the whole, easier to pose as an expert on foreign matters than domestic ones." Peter Osnos, on moving from foreign editor to become national editor of *The Washington Post*.



Regulatory overkill!



The branch that's threatening the tree.

Remember the 3 branches of government? Today, they are being overwhelmed by one the Founding Fathers never envisioned...regulatory agencies.

Since 1959 when our company was founded, the number of federal regulatory agencies has *tripled*. Hundreds of thousands of unelected, unaccountable bureaucrats are now defining public interest and Congressional "intent" as they see fit. And there are thousands more regulators at the state and local level.

A Congressional committee has found that over-regulation discourages competition, because smaller companies cannot afford the cost of keeping track of and complying with all the rules...about \$3600 a year for every small businessman.

The Center for the Study of American Business estimates government regulation costs a family of four more than \$2000 a year...that's more than 10% of their income.

We are not suggesting that all government regulations be eliminated. Some of the dollars spent have given us cleaner streams and air and provided protection to some segments of society. But too many regulators are going on "crusades" and expanding their areas of responsibility to achieve *personal* goals, as if they were a fourth branch of government.

The cost to the consumer has become too great to allow this trend of over-regulation to continue. There must be across-the-board budget cuts for all regulatory agencies. This will force regulators to establish priorities. Sunset laws must be enacted, requiring periodic review of the need for each agency. This will eliminate the "dead wood."

Putting regulation back in perspective will mean that the more than \$100-billion Americans must spend to pay for it this year can be reduced and the purchasing power of every American increased. Amway Corporation, Ada, Michigan 49355.

Amway

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One of a series of messages to stimulate public dialogue about significant national issues.

Making democracy safe for America

When the media report on protest movements, good copy for journalists is often bad news for democracy.

A sociologist and 1960s activist argues that news organizations stunt the political process by cutting it off at the grass roots

by TODD GITLIN

Politics has become spectacle. Political activity, through which people seek to change reality, has become inconceivable apart from the management of image. Politicians, seeking to govern a media-saturated society, are now viewed as glamorous and untrustworthy at the same time, and citizens are reduced to cheerleading and placing cynical side bets.

One might expect revitalization from the grass roots, for it is mostly from the previously inert, unmobilized fringes of national life that energy and ideas may emerge to renew an otherwise paralyzed and incapable polity. But popular opposition has come to be treated as a sideshow in the same media spectacle—as a source of celebrity news and sensational theatrics, but of little else. American burners of Iranian flags now know very well how to get their activities onto the nightly news; the stars of selected grass-roots movements routinely find themselves good copy for the People column of the local paper or the six o'clock broadcast. When NBC's *Prime Time Sunday* reported on Tom Hayden and Jane Fonda's national speaking tour last November, Jessi-

ca Savitch called on Jerry Rubin to question the authenticity of Hayden's launch into the political mainstream. Rubin was the source because, as he had the wit to acknowledge in his last book, the media had once made him famous for being "Jerry Rubin"; once a celebrity, always a celebrity. Thus do TV cameras behold mirrors.

And yet in the combination of grass-roots politics and the mass media there would seem to be potential for a new order of informed democracy. In the sixties the civil rights movement and then the antiwar movement discovered that news coverage was potentially a weapon of the disenfranchised. Since then, so have feminists and antiabortionists, gays and Anita Bryant, Ralph Nader and Howard Jarvis. But as soon as movements discover media power, they—like presidential candidates—try to perform as they think journalistic conventions dictate they must. By following these conventions, however, grass-roots movements have often undermined themselves and compromised the power to determine their own destinies, their leadership, and even their politics.

This deformation has consequences that extend far beyond the movements themselves, for damage to the extremities injures the whole body politic. This will become all the more serious if mainstream politics continues to fumble with the crises of stagflation, energy, and geopolitics into the eighties. The conventions of the spectacle that formed in

the sixties are still doing damage to the political possibilities of popular movements two decades later.

Since this, in turn, limits the ability of American democracy to renew itself, the process must be understood. To do so, it is interesting to inspect the way this pattern crystallized. The desire here is not simply to rake over the historical coals, but rather, as an example, to describe how newsgathering routines helped to shape the political possibilities of one of the important movements of the sixties, the New Left—and within it parts of the antiwar movement, and Students for a Democratic Society. It is a cautionary tale.

Inheriting the world

Most opposition movements share a common fate at the hands of the news media. First, they are ignored. Then they receive some respectful coverage. Then they are trivialized. And, finally, (with help from within) they are sensationalized. This is precisely what happened to SDS.

The organization was founded in 1960 as an intellectually serious, even scholarly enterprise. In June of 1962 it adopted a sober and wide-ranging sixty-four-page manifesto, The Port Huron Statement, which set forth a critique of American society and a modest approach to changing it. Its tone is suggested by its opening words: "We are people of this generation, bred in at least modest comfort, housed in universities, looking uncomfortably to the world we inherit." Threading through the

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document's many proposals for reform ran the ideal of participatory democracy as both means and end. Human dignity, reason, and freedom could be attained only if society were organized to permit and encourage people to make the decisions that affect their lives. Soon SDS had a Manhattan headquarters, scores of publications, and a dozen community organizing projects. But, according to journalistic convention, it was not a story.

The New York Times (which will be cited here because it is both preeminent and typical) took three years to discover this SDS, but then its first coverage was respectful, indeed. In March of 1965, after Berkeley's Free Speech Movement had shaken the image of the apathetic campus, an enterprising *Times* reporter, Fred Powledge, wrote a long takeout, beginning on the front page, about the emergence of SDS within the New Left. Powledge took its statements of belief at face value:

Some of them, who liken their movement to a "revolution," want to be called radicals. Most of them, however, prefer to be called "organizers." Others reply that they are "democrats with a small 'd'" or "socialists with a small 's.'" A few like to be called Marxists. . . .

Although a few displayed a tendency to defend the Soviet Union as an example of the sort of society they want to create, the great majority of those questioned said they were as skeptical of Communism as they were of any other form of political control.

The piece went on in this vein. (Powledge says that *Times* editors never again sent him out to report on the movement. Instead, they sent other reporters—who only corroborated his account. Powledge believes the editors "were hoping that somebody would find this wasn't a good homespun American movement.")

The respectful mode of coverage was quickly blurred, then supplanted by trivializing, deprecating reporting. From this moment, coverage only rarely conveyed the thrust of the SDS political analysis or the details of its programs. Instead, movement beards and sandals were singled out for special attention; antiwar demonstrators were counterbal-

anced by much smaller ultra-right and neo-Nazi counterdemonstrators, as if they were equivalently "extremists of both sides." The peace movement became the "peace movement"—made alien and problematic by the quarantine of quotation marks.

All of these devices were in evidence in the *Times's* coverage of the first major demonstration against the newly escalated Vietnam war, on April 17, 1965, organized by SDS. "More than 15,000 students and a handful of adults picketed the White House in warm spring sunshine today, calling for an end of the fighting in Vietnam," the unbylined front-page story began. "Many marchers appeared to be newcomers to the 'peace movement,'" it continued, "and some had only a hazy idea of how they might go about ending the fighting in Vietnam." Demonstrators' dress was characterized as "beards and blue jeans mixed with Ivy tweeds and an occasional clerical collar"; one subhead, catching the spirit of the *Times's* enterprise, said simply, "Holiday From Exams." The UPI photo the paper ran with the story showed equal numbers of antiwar and neo-Nazi demonstrators, although by the *Times's* own account there were 130 times as many antiwar people. The piece also took no notice of the demonstrators' political position or of the poster slogans visible in two other UPI photos with which the *Times* was supplied. In the hands of the *Times*, in other words, the event became trivial testimony by political naifs.

Such forms of denigration became normal. On October 11, 1965, for instance, *Times* Bay Area correspondent Wallace Turner reported:

The Faculty Peace Committee drew the biggest crowd of the year last week, perhaps 600 at the peak. The total enrollment of the Berkeley campus is about 27,000, so that these 600 represented less than 3 percent of the student body, if all had been students, which many were not.

Turner did not go on to compare the size of this rally with the size of any other political rallies; there was no

sense of political proportion or process in this single snapshot. Other news organizations also emphasized that the movement was unrepresentative and ineffectual. "All in all," said CBS's Bruce Morton on November 26, 1965, "there've been so many demonstrations it's unlikely one more can have much effect."

Trivializing coverage soon blended into the sensational, especially as some antiwar activity became more militant. Burning draft cards moved to the center of attention; so did "Viet Cong" flags. As more of the movement became more militant and sensational, it became easier for reporters to find symbols of flagrant disaffection; but journalists were finding and amplifying them before there were very many. On November 27, 1965, SANE held a mild antiwar demonstration in Washington. The *Times's* story the day before singled out the activity of a tiny group calling itself the United States Committee to Aid the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam. The headline read VIET-CONG FLAGS ARE SOLD IN WASHINGTON AS GROUPS ARRIVE FOR MARCH. Fred P. Graham's article did not report on the size of this committee; a reader would have had no way of knowing that it was tiny. Thus the moderate SANE, cooperating with the White House to the extent of wiring Ho Chi Minh to criticize his policies, could not escape the pincers of journalistic convention; how much more vulnerable was the more radical New Left.

Treatment of the antiwar movement changed only after the Tet offensive in early 1968. As editors and reporters decided that the war, however right or wrong in the first place, was now unwinnable, their coverage of the antiwar movement shifted to suit. Max Frankel, editorial page editor of the *Times*, puts it this way:

As protest moved from left groups, antiwar groups, into the pulpits, into the Senate—with Fulbright, Gruening, and others—as it became a majority opinion, it naturally picked up coverage. And then naturally the tone of the coverage changed. Because we're an Establishment institution, and whenever your nat-

ural community changes its opinion, then naturally you will, too.

Now the news media paid close attention to the "clean-cut kids" of the McCarthy campaign as the alternative to the "revolutionaries" in and around SDS. Then they promoted the convincingly moderate leaders, such as Sam Brown, who worked on the Moratorium in the fall of 1969. "SDS had its origins on this campus," reported a CBS correspondent out on the Moratorium story at the University of Michigan, "but today's Michigan protest was different, peaceful, within the law, not confined to a radical minority." Early SDS at Michigan, in fact, had been nothing but peaceful. Both "moderate" and "militant" leaders thought the distinction was more a matter of style than of substance, but they were helpless to resist the media images.

Images of the movement, then, were transmitted through the newsroom darkly. Through the news media the movement was able to spread the word that antiwar feeling existed, but it was not able to say much about how it understood the roots of the conflict. Teach-ins were reported, for example, but often not what participants had said about the war.

In this process, moreover, the movement was ultimately deformed and contained. To begin with, the publicity process helped convert some movement leaders into celebrities, and encouraged them to take their cues from what the press would cover. At the same time, journalistic convention encouraged the inflation of rhetoric and theatrical militancy for which the movement became famous, helping to isolate it from potential allies, and making it especially vulnerable to the heavy hand of Nixon's White House.

Leaders and followers

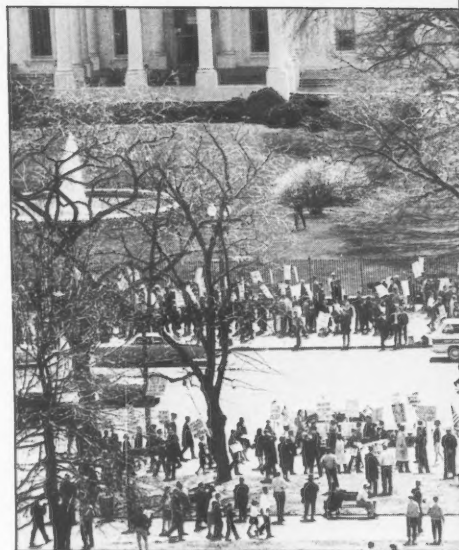
Leaders have followers; they look back toward their constituents in order to lead them forward toward goals. Celebrities, however, have fans. Democratic leadership is accountable to the political base; celebrities are accountable to no one but

the media. For the media are, among other things, in the business of entertainment: they need to create, reinforce, and circulate celebrity, and they have their own criteria for generating it. As reporters know, news is what is made by people who have been certified as newsworthy.

Of course, the media have for decades personified the news. What changed in the sixties is that the apparatus of celebrity swelled. With the rise of the multiversity campus, the big book contract, radio and TV talk shows, the manufacture of celebrity became bigger business. Now a movement leader could become a star by being, or (even worse) appearing to be, a champion radical. And because of the conventions of news judgment, movements were—and are—forced to rely on their celebrities to get the attention of the news media, and therefore of wider publics.

By becoming dependent on the media, the movement became ever more vulnerable to conventions of news reporting. When journalists started covering the movement and its leaders, for example, the pressure of everyday journalism drove them to rely on stereotypes. As a result, the movement people who achieved celebrity status were, mainly, those who were adept at formulating and publicizing the extravagant slogan (Stokely Carmichael's "Black Power" in 1966), or those who resorted to exotic symbols (Jerry Rubin's American Revolutionary Uncle Sam suit in 1966), or those who could muster an outrageous promise—that - could - be - framed - as - threat (Rennie Davis's "We're going to shut down Washington" in the Mayday antiwar action of 1971).

Movement leaders ended up hovering in an artificial social space, surrounded by halos of processed personality; the media became their constituency. Their old movement circles tended to resent and envy them. As Michael Rossman, a Berkeley activist from the time of the Free Speech Movement, wrote in a critical 1968 open letter to his old comrade Jerry Rubin, "In our developing theology of organizing, you're into the Leadership Heresy;



Keeping the gate: The New York Times chose the UPI photo above to run with its April 18, 1975, demonstration story. It visually equated the demonstrators (15,000) and counter-demonstrators (112) and revealed nothing of their politics. Below, two of the half-dozen other UPI demonstration photos the Times had to choose from.



Yippie is a hippy bureaucracy that decrees." The more their old constituencies attacked them for soaring upward from the fold, the more the celebrities were thrown back on the media to affirm them as leaders.

Coverage of the 1968 Columbia University uprising was typical of the news framing process and its consequences. Most stories failed to note that SDS had devoted considerable energy over some years to researching its issues and going through channels. The news was not so much SDS's demands (ending ties with the war-making Institute for Defense Analysis, and stopping construction of a gym widely seen as segregated); the news was SDS's tactics, presumed to be unjustifiable on their face. *Times* managing editor A. M. Rosenthal broke precedent by writing a bylined front-page story about the barbarism of students who had occupied president Grayson Kirk's office. "It was 4:30 in the morning," Rosenthal began, "and the president of the university leaned against the wall of the room that had been his office. He passed a hand over his face. 'My God,' he said, 'how could human beings do a thing like this.'" The story ran under the headline COMBAT AND COMPASSION AT COLUMBIA, reflecting at least one deskman's conviction that activists act, while administrators think and feel compassion; they are burdened with the agonies of power.

For the most part, reporters were interested in Mark Rudd, the recently elected head of the Columbia SDS chapter, who came to personify mindless militancy. Kirkpatrick Sale, then one of the editors of *The New York Times Magazine*, recalls that "two or three reasonably pro-student stories on Columbia came in over the transom," but they were quickly rejected; the *Magazine* "wanted a story about Mark Rudd." (In the end, it ran a critique of civil disobedience by Supreme Court Justice Abe Fortas, and a general view-with-alarm by neoconservative James Q. Wilson.) Rudd was obviously a story, but the press covered him as a tactician, not as someone articulating a political platform with a history. Although SDS researchers

uncovered much material on Columbia's role in war research and Harlem real estate, the news media gave their findings short shrift. Willy-nilly, reporters helped boost Rudd into movement prominence. And Rudd, with others who shared his strategy, became adept at parlaying his celebrity into power within the movement.

Horrified and made desperate by the unabating war in Vietnam, unable to create a plausible political strategy for ending it, the New Left was now drawn—and drew itself—into a symbiosis with the media: it began to choose leaders and actions whose theatrics were good copy. In 1969, Rudd became national secretary as part of the newly formed Weathermen faction; his symbolic glamour as revolutionary swept him to power in a disintegrating organization whose leftover political life the Weathermen demolished in the name of Third World revolution.

Elitism: the double signals

By the end of the sixties, Rudd was not the only activist who had lost track of the difference between leadership and celebrity status. That confusion was rampant in a society where an appearance on the Dick Cavett show could be mistaken for political power. But the confusion was greatest in the New Left, a movement whose leaders were ambivalent about leading and whose members were ambivalent about following. It was a movement whose ideology of participatory democracy, coupled with political inexperience, radical egalitarianism, and uncertain politics left the rank and file unexpectedly excluded, bitter, and at the same time incapable of telling its leaders what it wanted of them.

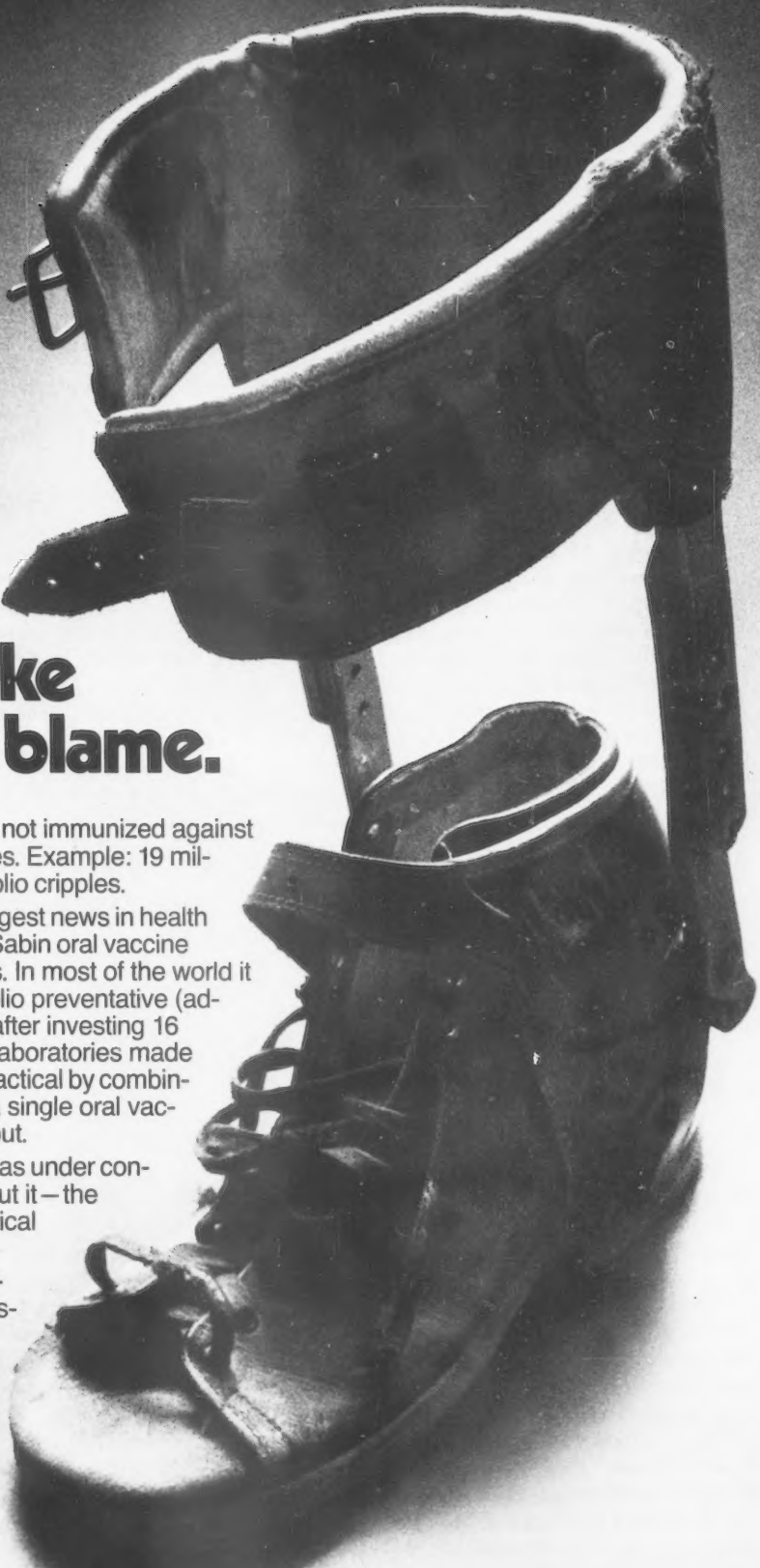
The movement attacked its leaders as elitists for making policy before the microphones; yet leaders complained, justifiably, that the movement's vagueness and organizational sprawl left them no choice. Stokely Carmichael came under fire in the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee for just this sort of improvisation. Kate Millett pointed to a similar bind in the feminist movement: "All the while the movement is sending double signals:

you absolutely must preach at our panel, star at our conference—implying, fink if you don't . . . and at the same time laying down a wonderfully uptight line about elitism."

The leaders of popular movements often reason that they have no alternative but to cooperate in the system of media-managed politics if they want to reach large publics. The New Left was all the more vulnerable to media pressures because fighting against the Vietnam War placed a premium on getting immediate, detectable results. In order to feel effective, now, movement leaders were driven to recruit large numbers by making inflated claims about the efficacy of their antiwar mobilizations. For impatient and frustrated activists, getting headlines and a spot on the evening news too often came to supplant the more important goals of building alliances with sympathetic unions, or toward the right, where most of the country was.

As leaders grew dependent on journalists, they inadvertently helped to undermine the entire movement's credibility. People recruited into the movement now embraced the media definition of success, which is what had helped to attract them in the first place. Not knowing how to promote visible social change, they instead got caught up in the excitement of making news. Throughout, the Nixon administration was at pains to deny that the movement was having any effect whatsoever, and much of the rank and file grew embittered toward leaders who had held out promises of quick results. The cycles of euphoria and despair in which the antiwar movement trapped itself simply increased the movement's dependency on media images of success. To close the circle of irony, the rank and file came to know its leaders mostly through mass-mediated images. Political learning at the base became rote, superficial. In the overheated atmosphere of the war years, leaders tended either to pyramid their celebrity, or to abdicate in disgust, or to bounce back with ever more extravagant claims.

Having propelled themselves into mounting spectacular demonstra-



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tions such as the Weathermen's Days of Rage in October 1969, or the "trashing" of the Department of Justice that same November, New Left leaders lost sight of the movement's growing political isolation. Flattered by their revolutionary images and hypnotized by the media spotlight, movement elites swung toward thinking that student cadres could muscle themselves to revolution on the backs of a world upsurge. The news showed Parisian students building barricades in May 1968, so when Columbia students occupied buildings for the second time they built barricades, too, although tactically they made no sense. When, just before the 1968 Democratic convention, some demonstrators in Chicago let themselves be filmed practicing the Japanese snake dance, they were demonstrating foolhardy tactics (Japanese radicals had devised the dance to fill up narrow streets, not the grand boulevards of Chicago) but a sure grasp of the media. The networks amplified such empty gestures, promoting more polarization.

The street-fighting style became legitimate, even obligatory, within the movement, even as it helped stir up right-wing backlash outside. The political consequences were grave. While many people were recruited to one side or the other by the confrontation, many more were appalled by the whole spectacle. The upshot was that the movement was contained. Applying their routine news judgments with the encouragement of the movement itself, the media amplified the inflammatory image and effectively helped make a firebreak at the same time.

One consequence of this whole process, especially during the Nixon years, was political repression, which included an attack on the press for spreading the bad news. A second, less visible result was growing self-censorship in the media, since when politicians attacked them, the media all too often revised their criteria for newsworthiness. In 1968, for example, the networks at first resisted Justice Department suggestions that they cool down their coverage of ghetto riots, but within months they had adopted their own guidelines:

camera crews were to cap their cameras in volatile street situations. In January 1969, after protests from Governor Ronald Reagan and San Francisco State College president S.I. Hayakawa, CBS News executives decided that part one of a feature on a student strike at San Francisco State had leaned too far toward the viewpoint of the strikers; they sent their correspondent back to play up the plight of the "silent majority," and re-edited part two.

More common were hedgings and reconsiderations on the part of journalists themselves. Vice President Agnew's crusade against the media had a chilling effect; it "made us more cautious," as a top CBS producer now puts it. A former cameraman recalls: "Everybody was running scared. Everybody was being incredibly cautious. And [correspondents] would make jokes about it to us. Like, 'We can't offend Mr. Agnew,' or 'We have to be careful because Agnew's watching.'"

By extravagant coverage and by self-censorship both, then, the news media played their part in building a containing wall around the movement, and helped generate one of the central political paradoxes of the time: as the antiwar movement grew, and as polls showed Americans turning steadily against the war, the organizational centers of the New Left isolated themselves, took to speaking in Leninist tongues, and splintered.

Authoritarian political culture

The loss was not the New Left's alone. Actual democracy—democracy in practice and not the Fourth-of-July bombast with which technocrats adorn their rule—must be a process of perpetual renewal. The center *does* hold, but it calcifies; new ideas and energies have to percolate through the society from the grass roots. At the core of our political life is that right to "petition the Government for a redress of grievances" which was restored to the Constitution in 1789 as one price of its ratification by the most democratic-minded states. That right to petition is now exercised largely through the

mass media, access to which is now the principal way that discordant ideas have of capturing public attention. Like it or not, the media have become gatekeepers not only for this story and that, but for political life as a whole.

The seemingly unbiased, judicious, apolitical habits of reporters have political consequences of a high order. All reform and opposition movements on which democratic renewal depends have to cope with journalism's persistent assumptions about which aspects of which events are worthy of note. No one disputes the necessity of selection; what is questionable is rather the unspoken assumptions through which it works.

Movements, of course, have a reciprocal effect on the news media: They sometimes succeed in revising the news's standard symbols, languages, and cast of characters. "Activist" becomes a standard media designation, Ralph Nader becomes a media regular; and so does Barry Commoner. After Three Mile Island, previously suspect antinuclear experts were elevated to respected status, before the official agencies—the Nuclear Regulatory Commission and the Kemeny Commission—were able to win back the spotlight. In American society, the media are absorptive, not repressive.

But this is nothing to be smug about. What is disturbing is that a *democratic* movement like the New Left—or the civil rights or feminist movements—is especially vulnerable to the deforming pressures of the news process, to the routines by which it creates celebrities and promotes the inflation of rhetoric. *Authoritarian* movements, on the other hand, know how to do better with the press: they know how to organize themselves around celebrity, instead of resenting it; they are more adept at turning the image-making over to their leaders, and falling into line behind them. Against its own convictions, then, our journalism may have helped engender a political culture which is more hospitable to the single visions of authoritarians than to the complexities and ambiguities of democrats. ■

No More Free Ride... For Union Officials.

Thanks to Harry Beck, American workers no longer have to support unwanted candidates or undesired political causes to keep their jobs.

Harry, who was born and grew up in LaPlata, Maryland, has worked for the telephone company for 19 years. He once belonged to the Communications Workers of America union, but resigned "because the CWA was totally impersonal to anyone except those at the top."

However, "those at the top" in the union then negotiated a contract with the telephone company which required all non-union employees, like Harry, to pay CWA an "agency fee" equal to union dues to stay employed.

Harry Beck had to pay up or be fired. But then he learned that the CWA, one of the country's most politically active unions, was using the "agency fees" for partisan politics—and that made him mad. "They backed people," explains Harry, "I just wouldn't have backed."

With the help of the National Right to Work Legal Defense Foundation, suit was brought against the CWA union by Harry and 19 other telephone company workers. And on March 16, 1979, in an historic decision, a Federal court ruled that a union's collecting or spending of compulsory fees for any purpose other than collective bargaining

violates the Constitutional rights of employees who object.

It was the first time that a Federal court had declared that union political spending from mandatory "agency fees" is an infringement upon the rights to free speech and association enjoyed by private sector workers.



Similar protection was established for public employees in 1978 in the U.S. Supreme Court decision in *Aboud v. Detroit Board of Education*—another case supported by the National Right to Work Legal Defense Foundation.

The potential impact of the two decisions is enormous. Union officials spend an estimated \$100 million in direct and "in-kind" support on political campaigns in a single election year—most of it raised through compulsory dues or "agency fees." The workers forced to pay for this political support have rarely any voice in the selection of the union favored candidates or causes.

But the Beck decision reaffirms the basic principle that no worker in a free country should ever have to support anyone else's politics in order to retain his right to work.

The National Right to Work Legal Defense Foundation, established in 1968, provides free legal aid to workers whose rights have been violated as a result of compulsory unionism. It is presently supporting more than 100 court cases involving the rights of employees across the nation.

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BOOKS

Pillory of justice

The Brethren:

Inside the Supreme Court

by Bob Woodward and Scott Armstrong.
Simon and Schuster. 467 pp. \$13.95

by GEORGE KANNAR

After two years of interviewing law clerks, reading memorandums, and burrowing through diaries, Bob Woodward and Scott Armstrong have rediscovered a fact of judicial life articulated fifty years ago by legal scholar Jerome Frank. Judges, said Frank, are ordinary people; they put their robes on one sleeve at a time.

Frank's pronouncement, of course, was part of a continuing debate over the extent to which Supreme Court Justices' personal beliefs—and political values—condition their legal opinions. *The Brethren* trumpets the Court's human fallibility so loudly that readers may hardly guess that this argument has a long and rich history. Ignoring virtually all previous interpretations of the Court—be they legal, political, historical, or sociological—Woodward, an assistant managing editor at *The Washington Post*, and Armstrong, a reporter at the paper, have adopted what can only be called an "acting out" theory of jurisprudence. Their approach seems to reflect the deeper process of social corrosion noted by Christopher Lasch in *The Culture of Narcissism*, where he argues that American society is losing all faith in nonsubjective measures of value and achievement and that, as a result, public life has degenerated into mere spectacle.

George Kannar, an ACLU staff counsel who also writes on legal subjects, was an attorney for the defense in *The United States v. The Progressive*.

Thus *The Brethren* may be one of the most representative cultural artifacts of our time: a book written by celebrities, about a Supreme Court composed of celebrities, for a readership hooked on celebrities.

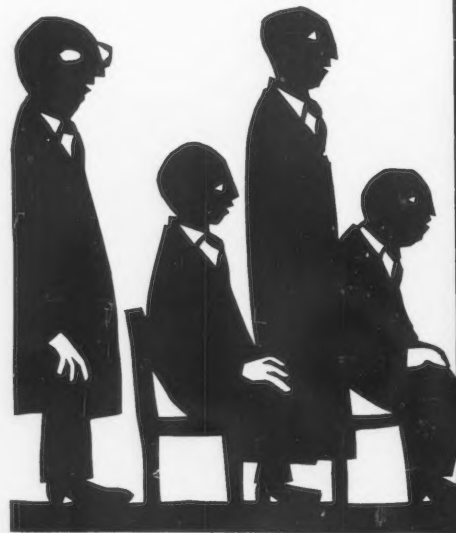
As such, *The Brethren* might be considered another in a long line of "factional" narratives that Woodward and his earlier coauthor refined in their Watergate books. But *The Brethren's* authors, and their publisher, have promoted it as something more. As Woodward claimed in an interview in *The New York Times Book Review*, *The Brethren* explains not only "how [the Court] works" but also "what it means." In fact, this book seems to have created a new subgenre: fictionalized analysis.

The Brethren purports to recount the "inside" story of the Supreme Court from the appointment of Warren Burger, the book's villain, as the Chief Justice in 1969, through the end of the 1975 term (in the summer of 1976). But it is a peculiar type of insider's account. Although the Court's work consists precisely in reconciling abstract ideas with often irrational personal beliefs, *The Brethren* tells its story from a standpoint of third-person omniscience. Like *The Final Days*, it liberally ascribes thoughts and emotions to Justices whenever the authors believe doing so will "help explain the decisions and actions" of the Court. How illumined are we, however, by learning that "Harlan was peeved" or that "Stewart was deeply troubled," if there is no substantive analysis to suggest whether either had a right to be? *The Brethren*, to use Lasch's terminology, "recognizes no boundaries between the public and the private realm"; public acts are almost exclusively the result of private wounds and aspirations. The result is not

edification, but dramatization.

A great deal has been written about the credibility problem caused by the extraordinary secrecy surrounding *The Brethren's* sources. Compounding this problem, the book provides no internal signals as to how reliable its various "inside" sources may be. In contrast, say, to William Shawcross's *Sideshow*, which scrupulously explains when the author is sure and when he is surmising, *The Brethren's* consistently Olympian perspective lowers the credibility of the whole of the book to that of its least credible part, which is very low indeed.

Such is the case even for materials in the public domain. The book's many legal errors, both major and minor (which have been amply documented in earlier reviews), would not be surprising in an earlier draft. No one would expect two reporters untrained in law to discern every legal nuance. But it is surprising that neither they nor their publisher bothered to have the text checked by someone with legal training to eliminate easily avoidable legal slips. And it is even more distressing when



bloopers occur in the journalists' own backyard, as when the book asserts that the lower courts excluded the public from oral argument in the Pentagon Papers case—in which *The Washington Post* itself was a defendant—when, in fact, only a portion of the lower court proceedings was closed.

For all its pretension, *The Brethren* displays an astonishing lack of interest in asking the hard questions raised by the history, tradition, and social role of this enigmatic political-legal hybrid. Constantly surprised by the most ordinary disagreements, invariably shocked whenever one Justice tries to corral votes for his position, the authors seem to have an image of a harmonious pre-Burger Court that is wholly mythological. Had they paused long enough from their assiduous fact-gathering to ponder such matters as the Court's place at the apex of an intricate legal system, Woodward and Armstrong might have realized that the Court is, and always has been, founded upon the premise that reasonable people will disagree. While the authors refer to the Court's extraordi-

nary discretion to choose which cases it will hear, they seem unaware that a major criterion of selection is that the question presented be so novel or intricate that the lower courts have already diverged on it. If an issue has divided the lower courts, why should it be so remarkable that it split the Supreme Court, too?

An appreciation of the intractable nature of these cases would perhaps have led the authors to qualify their charge that the Burger Court lacks true "deliberation" in its adjudication. Woodward and Armstrong's belittling of the Court's discussions, memos, and draft opinions—the stuff of all collective judicial decision-making—reveals how imperfectly they understand the process of deliberation. In place of a cognitive psychology that might have explored the process by which nine intellects interact on complicated issues, *The Brethren* merely offers pop psychologizing.

Furthermore, Woodward and Armstrong seem not to have grasped a basic principle that helps to explain what makes the Court a unique institution in the power-brokering,

horse-trading world that is Washington. Virtually unremovable and answerable to no constituency, the nine Justices owe each other absolutely nothing. They have no obvious incentive to struggle for consensus. What holds them together is a shared perception of the Supreme Court's social and political role which reflects long years of professional socialization. What the authors take to be purely personal efforts by the Justices to avoid embarrassment or to patch up differences are often actually deeply stylized gestures. Woodward and Armstrong fail to probe the meaning of their book's presumably ironic title—a designation the Justices themselves probably take rather seriously.

The closing pages of *The Brethren* illustrate the inadequacy of the authors' understanding of how the Court functions and their frequent carelessness with relevant facts. They describe how Justice John Paul Stevens, by the end of his first term, had become confused and disappointed by his colleagues' tendency to "make pragmatic rather than principled decisions—shading the



facts, twisting the law, warping logic to reconcile the unreconcilable." It was "not at all what he had anticipated." In portraying this naïf, however, *The Brethren* skirts the fact that Stevens himself had been a Supreme Court law clerk in 1947 and had served for more than five years on the Seventh Circuit Court of Appeals. He surely knew better. Do the authors mean to imply that the Burger Court is radically more "pragmatic" than its predecessors or other appellate courts? Lacking any evidence for such a judgment, we can only conclude that Stevens's reverie is the authors' own fantasy, and a misleading fantasy at that.

Finally, *The Brethren* must be judged according to how seriously it takes the journalist's, not the Justice's, job. Had Woodward and Armstrong found a scandal at the Court, as they ostensibly set out to do, the usual standards of newspaper journalism would perhaps have sufficed: such-and-such a Justice accepted this-or-that to change his opinion on thus-and-such. Failing in that enterprise, the two now claim to be telling all about how the Court *really* works. By making such a claim about an institution of this kind, they have incurred correspondingly higher analytic obligations.

The Supreme Court is unique not only because it is a peculiarly intellectual, tradition-conscious institution, but also because it is the sole organ of government whose power depends entirely upon the public's perception of its legitimacy. The claim that it is remiss in its duties is therefore very serious indeed, for, if the people believe it, the Court's power—and not just its image—would suffer. Andrew Jackson got away with ignoring John Marshall, and Richard Nixon kept us guessing until the last moment whether he would hand over those tapes. It gives one pause to consider what might have happened had *The Brethren* appeared before the "final days."

Yet perhaps the most regrettable consequence of *The Brethren's* publication is that it has created a foil for a wider "brethren" of columnists,

law professors, and prominent lawyers seeking to display their own "reasonableness" and "responsibility" by comparison. Flashy exercises in legal virtuosity and hoary quotations from Holmes now grace book review pages everywhere. Ironically, such an easily discredited effort as *The Brethren* may only succeed in shrouding the retrogressive Burger Court—and the legal profession generally—in more obscurantist rhetoric than ever.

The networks: plus ça change

The Networks: How They Stole the Show

by A. Frank Reel.
Scribner's. 208 pp. \$8.95

Keeping Your Eye on Television

by Les Brown.
The Pilgrim Press. 84 pp. \$4.95

by DANNY SCHECHTER

Television has become the most criticized medium in our society; at the same time, it has proved to be the most resistant to change. For years, the industry's critics have blasted away at a long list of perceived flaws—the pervasive commercialism, the sexual and racial stereotyping, the moronic programming, the minimal attention given to serious issues, the packaging of news as entertainment, and so on. And each year the industry responds by providing more of the same.

Perhaps one reason the perennial criticism has had so little effect is that the would-be reformers tend to focus on the limitations of television programming instead of the structural and institutional reasons for those limitations. These two new books are welcome because they do confront the television industry as an industry and go on to offer a range of

Danny Schechter is a radio news commentator known as the "news dissector" at WBCN-FM and also a television producer at WCVB, both in Boston. A nationally syndicated talk show that he produced recently won an Emmy.

ideas on how it might be changed.

Les Brown was the first critic to train his sights—and to try to persuade others to train their sights—on television's industrial behavior. In *Television: The Business Behind the Box*, published in 1971, when Brown was radio-TV editor of *Variety*, he summed up the problem succinctly:

To the critic, television is about programs. To the broadcast practitioner, it is mainly about sales. This explains why most critics have nothing important to say to the industry and why, among all the critics in show business and the arts, the television reviewer is the least effective. In television only one notice matters, that from the ultimate critic, the A. C. Nielsen Company.

Now television correspondent for *The New York Times*, Brown has come up with a pamphlet-sized call to action issued as a guidebook for concerned citizens by the activist Office of Communication of the United Church of Christ. Meanwhile, A. Frank Reel, a former president of Metromedia Producers Corporation who now practices law, has produced a book which is, essentially, an update on Brown's seminal 1971 study and an elaboration on themes first stated by Brown. Neither work breaks new analytic ground in explaining the central economic role that television now plays; both books hold out a liberal-reformist model of change that has not appeared to work terribly well over the years. That said, it must be added that Reel's *The Networks: How They Stole the Show* is full of provocative detail.

Reel approaches his subject as a zealous trustbuster. The networks, he argues, are "the most powerful, most effective, and most impregnable monopoly in the history of the United States"—a case he makes with considerable skill. While ABC, NBC, and CBS aggressively compete within the monopoly, he explains, they have effectively closed ranks to protect the system they created and perpetuate. All three networks share the same programming assumptions and seek the same

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audience. Once merely clearing houses for externally generated programs, all three now have enough financial clout on their own to plan and control all programs. And, as Reel points out (as have many others before him), the networks' monopoly hold on the airwaves is rendered impregnable by the political power of the industry and the reluctance of the Federal Communications Commission to regulate network behavior. (Reel's book was barely in the stores, in fact, when an FCC report concluded that the commission was virtually powerless to regulate network policies concerning affiliates.) Reel, who would like to see network dominance reduced, offers a simple way of achieving the diversity the present system lacks (one, he admits, the industry would certainly oppose): switch the nation over from the more limited VHF spectrum (twelve channels) now in use to an all-UHF system (seventy channels).

Reel's emphasis on creating new channels reflects his experiences as a producer who found that his own projects were exploited, or frustrated, by the networks. The most fascinating chapter of his book explains how the networks exert control over the program process, from the creation of stories through the approval of scripts, and otherwise manipulate program content. Since the networks will rarely commit themselves to an extended run, they can drop a project at any time. Consequently, a series that receives excellent critical response—*The Paper Chase*, for example—can be dropped despite a significant audience share and rating if the networks think something else would do better. Meanwhile, the independent producer is expected to take virtually all of the financial risk, often producing episodes of a given program at a higher cost than the networks will pay for them. The producer, then, must gamble on a program lasting four years; anything less makes it unlikely that there will be enough programs to sell for syndication—his only hope of making a sizable return on his investment. To add to their

difficulties, the independent producers must negotiate practically every detail of a project with the networks, whose executives, after all is said and done, are in the powerful position of being able to reject a product that they have engineered.

There are many examples of producers and programs caught in this vise. Norman Lear—one of television's most successful, and independent, producers—was unable to get the networks to pick up his satirical sitcom *Mary Hartman, Mary Hartman*. The American people "weren't ready" for the program, executives told him. So Lear was compelled to syndicate it at a loss to independent stations, which racked up enormous profits when the series became a ratings smash. (Lear may ultimately recoup some of his money through syndication because now the networks will air the show.) Lee Rich, whose *The Waltons* became a success, complained that CBS was making more than \$600,000 on the hour-long show while he wasn't being paid half that to produce it. Rich's outspokenness was exceptional; Reel notes that most producers "refrain from open criticism of their customers" for fear of being blacklisted.

What is not clear about this indictment is whether programs produced free of network constraints would be very different. Most independent producers—many of whom are network alumni—share the commercial values of the networks; they only want a larger slice of the profits. For their part, local network affiliates and the independents are as committed to the ratings- and profit-oriented system as are the networks.

Neither Reel nor Brown perceives the television industry as capable of changing without strong pressure from the outside. Reel concludes, on a wishful, rousing note: "As television programming continues to deteriorate, public resentment will rise. When the people are fully conscious of an evil, their government—whether on the executive, legislative, or judicial level—can be forced into ac-

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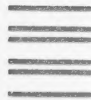
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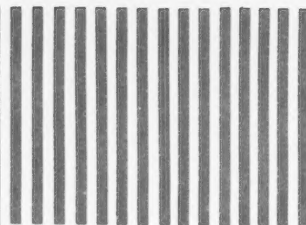
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tion." Brown's summing up is somewhat more realistic: "Whatever changes occur in the public interest will be brought on by forces outside the industry—consumer groups, minority coalitions, public interest law firms, and organizations of concerned viewers—provided they have done their homework, made judgments that have moral force, brought action, and persevered."

Just how realistic is it to believe that citizen groups can compel a giant monopoly—regulated by a federal agency that has long been a more effective defender of corporate interests than of those of the nation's television viewers—to mend its ways? There is evidence that the groups Brown lists have made impressive headway on some fronts. Threats of consumer boycotts directed against advertisers by parent and teacher organizations did drive some violent programs off the air. License challenges by community groups have wrested a few TV stations from irresponsible operators, while the right to file such challenges has probably contributed to the existence of many public affairs programs in accord with the public interest obligations mandated for licensees.

Still, by and large, the quality of the stuff we see remains unaltered. Inanity, commercialism, uniformity of viewpoint still prevail—and the formula still yields huge profits. This situation, in which only marginal changes are effected, reflects the fact that the citizen movement is not very well organized and that it lacks the resources of its well-funded opponents.

Apart from the lack of organization and funds, moreover, the reform movement lacks the sort of broad-based constituency required for effecting real change. The recent announcement by the International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers, with a membership of over 900,000, that it was starting a program to improve the way blue-collar issues and life are treated on television may infuse some working-class muscle and sensibilities

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¹ Between 1959 and 1976, personal health care expenditures increased almost twelvefold from \$10.4 billion to \$120.4 billion. Ten percent of the federal budget is now spent on personal health care, almost \$34 billion in 1976 alone.

² Health Systems Agencies were created as part of the National Health Planning and

Resources Development Act of 1974. Their mandate is to improve the health of the American people: continuity and quality of health services; restrain increases in the cost of providing health services and prevent unnecessary duplication of health services.

³ In a recent survey by the American Health Planning Association, health planning agencies

across the country reported that in one two-year period they were instrumental in preventing over \$3 billion in capital investment for health care facilities. It's also important to note that there have been no indications that the quality of medical care has been impaired by their efforts.

⁴ It's estimated that 100,000 short term hospital beds stand

idle—an idle bed costing almost 60% as much to maintain as one in use. Blue Cross recently noted that health care providers in southern California are reported to have ordered or installed enough \$500,000 CAT scanners to serve the entire western United States.

into the battle for better broadcasting. In any case, this is the sort of reinforcement the movement needs as it explores the alternatives to the present organization of the industry. People always know what's on; they don't always realize what might be possible.

Good question

Who Owns the Media?:

Concentration of Ownership in the Mass Communications Industry

edited by Benjamin M. Compaine.
Knowledge Industry Publications. 370 pp.
\$24.95. Paper: Harmony Books. \$8.95.

Who Owns the Media? opens with a series of statements followed by a question. The statements:

One company, General Motors, had more revenue in 1978 than all television and radio broadcasters, newspapers, periodical and book publishers combined. . . . Exxon receives more revenue in a week than The New York Times Co. receives in a year.

Having set media conglomerates in this larger business perspective, the question is sprung:

Why do respected media critics warn of possible insidious control over public opinion and government policy by media conglomerates?

Thus, the thrust of the book is made clear from the outset: concentration in the media industry, insignificant compared to that in other sectors of the economy, remains only a *potential* threat to diversity of opinion and the freedom of the press.

Edited by Benjamin Compaine, an executive director in the Program on Information Resources Policy at Harvard University, the book analyzes ownership trends in radio and television broadcasting, cable and pay television, newspapers, and magazine and book publishing, and presents "as much relevant data as possible on the nature and degree of competition and ownership in the mass communications business." Each industry is treated separately in chapters written by contributing editors

Christopher Sterling, Kendrick Noble, Jr., and Thomas Guback.

Compaine, who contributes two chapters, concludes that no newspaper or chain dominates the flow of news in the nation and goes on to dismiss the notion that the acquisition of papers by chains has damaged the editorial product. "There is no empirical evidence," he writes, "that either chain-owned newspapers or newspapers in single firm cities as a group provide poorer service to readers or advertisers than independent or competing newspapers." Nor, he argues, is there any hard proof for the contention—often voiced by media critics—that the reduction of competition resulting from chain acquisition has curtailed diversity of opinion. To support his case, Compaine cites studies indicating that "readers perceive little difference between competing and 'isolate' newspapers." (This does not really address the issue, however. The fact that readers perceive little difference between the two does not mean that there has been no loss in the range of opinion available to them.)

Christopher Sterling, the coauthor of *Stay Tuned*, a history of American broadcasting, and *The Mass Media: Aspen Institute Guide to Communication Industry Trends*, is less sanguine. In his chapters—on television and radio broadcasting and on cable and pay TV—he forecasts increased concentration of most segments of the media and points out that commercial television is already, by some accounts, the most concentrated industry of all. Among a multitude of sources cited is a study by Roger G. Noll which asserts that "in relatively few industries do three firms [in this case the networks and their O&O stations] account for over half the sales."

The cable industry is no better off. While the ownership structure of the broadcasting industry is regulated by the FCC, the ownership controls in the cable industry are few. More importantly, since there is no ownership limitation on pay cable distribu-

tion, there is no limit on the number of channels a company may control. As a result, companies that own cable systems, such as Time Inc. and TelePrompster, may provide their own transmission facilities, as well as their own programming. "Potentially, then," Sterling writes, "they may accomplish what the broadcast networks have been prohibited from doing: controlling the distribution as well as the content. . . . In just half a decade, the economic future of pay cable has become a game only giants can play."

Who *does* own the media? Compaine's answer: "Thousands of firms and organizations, large and small." Yet his own data belie his assertion: the mass of information in the book compels the conclusion that a handful of companies controls a staggeringly high percentage of the media industry.

□ The top four newspaper chains are responsible for 22 percent of daily circulation; the top ten control nearly 40 percent.

□ Time Inc. controls about 80 percent of pay cable distribution.

□ The top four motion picture companies account for almost a third of all revenue from film distribution, production, and allied services.

"Who owns the media?" moreover, is a question that calls for another kind of answer altogether. We are told that Gannett owns 5.5 percent of the nation's newspapers, but we are not told who owns Gannett. Only in the discussion of the film industry does author Thomas Guback attempt to break down the ownership structure of the companies themselves. Elsewhere, the central question of *who* truly controls the media in this country is not addressed.

Despite its significant failures, however, the book does achieve some success in presenting a succinct and accessible look at the structure of ownership in the communications industry. And if Compaine's own analysis is weakened by specious logic, readers may follow the advice he offers in his introduction and "draw their own conclusions." P.R.

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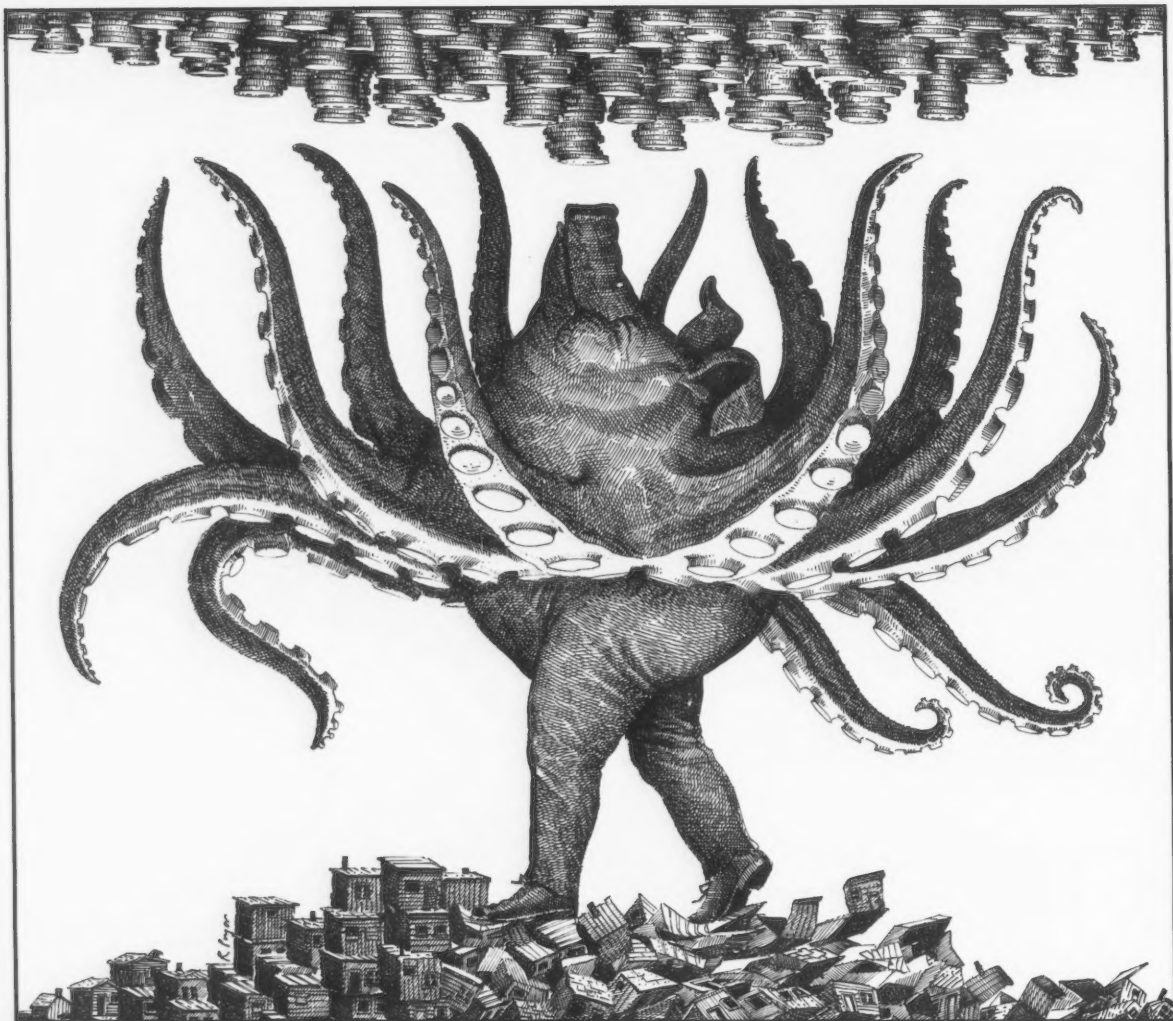
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GREED, NEGLECT BREED SLUMS

MONROE, Louisiana—About 30 percent of the rental housing in Monroe was classified as substandard by the federal government.

Both Gannett newspapers in town, the Monroe Morning World and the News-Star, investigated why so much of the city's housing was so run-down.

Who was to blame? What could be done about it?

The investigation revealed a history of greed, neglect and indifference.

The city's poor, elderly, disabled

and handicapped very often simply could not afford Monroe's better homes, and the landlords and local government were part of the problem.

People were living in small wooden shacks built nearly 100 years ago. These sharecropper shanties were usually without heating, toilets or running water.

Landlords were reluctant to make improvements because that would cut into their profits.

The city was unwilling to do anything because the slumlords were heavy political contributors or, in some instances, the city fathers themselves were slum landlords.

In a series of well-illustrated reports, the Monroe newspapers brought these conditions to light, named names and pressed for the enforcement of housing codes. As a result, the city has reorganized its enforcement machinery, and low-rent housing is being built. Housing conditions are improving for the poor people of Monroe.

This is the kind of tough, honest, independent journalism of which all of

us at Gannett are most proud.

The efforts of the Monroe newspapers symbolize the professionalism, independence and dedication to community service we all share.

At Gannett, we have a commitment to freedom in every business we're in, whether it's newspaper, TV, radio, outdoor advertising, documentary filmmaking, or public opinion research.

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GANNETT

A WORLD OF DIFFERENT VOICES
WHERE FREEDOM SPEAKS

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"The Greatest Story Ever Told"

TO THE REVIEW:

I enjoyed Garry Wills's piece on the pope's press reception (CJR, January/February); I wrote one much like it for the December *Harper's*.

Wills is quite right that to criticize the adulation was to invite abusive mail. In the month following publication of my piece, *Harper's* received dozens of angry letters, many of them anti-Semitic screeds accusing me of religious intolerance. A small hate-mail campaign was organized in Tampa. Columnist Michael Novak wrote to say I had "saddened and depressed" him, and practically everyone at *Harper's* got denounced by name in a piece Richard A. Blake, S.J. wrote for the Catholic weekly *America*. Obviously we struck some very sensitive nerves.

I expect you'll now experience a similar response to Garry Wills's sacrilege.

DAVID SANFORD
Managing editor
Harper's

TO THE REVIEW:

Garry Wills's scummy story on Pope John Paul II is a disgraceful embarrassment to the journalism profession. Could you please explain to me how in your mind the article coincides with your professed platform of speaking out "for what is right, fair, and decent"?

MARTIN L. DUGGAN
Editorial page editor
St. Louis Globe-Democrat

TO THE REVIEW:

No eyes are deader than those from which all faith has fled. Case in point: Garry Wills! If Wills be Catholic, then who needs heretics?

DANIEL N. EHART
Wayne, Pa.

TO THE REVIEW:

"The Greatest Story Ever Told" was anything but that. Garry Wills's criticism of the media's coverage of the papal visit to this country was deficient in those reportorial skills that he charged those who covered the pope to have lacked. The background coverage in, for example, *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, *Time*, *Newsweek*, and CBS, NBC, and ABC the week prior to the pope's visit had a common strain—wide-ranging reports on the state of Catholicism in the nation and the world and the role this pope would

have in influencing that state. Perhaps Wills was in Tahiti during that week. Perhaps he simply took a sabbatical from reading news articles and watching network news. Whatever the explanation the failure to comment on that in-depth coverage was inexcusable.

This failure is compounded by his inability to accurately portray coverage of the visit itself. To anyone reading the newspapers or watching the network news coverage, it was no secret where John Paul II stood on matters of artificial birth control, abortion, divorce, and female and married priests. But Wills dismisses these aspects of the coverage as being superficial while lauding a report on how much Catholic real estate there is in Washington, D.C.—mildly interesting but rather insignificant when compared to the pope's newsworthy reaffirmations of traditional Catholic teachings during the visit.

ALAN MICELI
Middletown, Pa.

The devil you say

TO THE REVIEW:

Re your "Comment" piece "Doing The Devil's Work" (CJR, January/February): New Yorkers generally, the New York news media particularly, and the *Review's* editorial writers most specifically, take themselves, and their impact on the rest of the nation, far too seriously.

Have a little faith in those of us struggling in the hinterlands (which you seem to think is everywhere in America outside Manhattan). We survived William Randolph Hearst. We'll manage to overcome Murdoch's appeal to our baser instincts.

TIMOTHY D. SMITH
Assistant managing editor/Metro
Akron Beacon Journal
Akron, Ohio

TO THE REVIEW:

Your "Comment" about Rupert Murdoch's *New York Post* is outrageous in its provincialism. West of the Hudson River, just about no one knows of or cares about the *Post* or any of the other newspapers to which you devote such slavish attention. It's absurd to claim that thousands of reporters and editors around the country "are already working in a climate that Murdoch has helped to create." Far more likely is the proposition that most newsmen believe and follow the

preachings and prejudices of such publications as the *Columbia Journalism Review*. Murdoch may not come to heel beneath the banner of self-righteous social responsibility, but whether you approve of it or not, he's exercising his version of press freedom. The *Post's* circulation of 631,000 suggests someone out there approves.

STEVEN B. WEINER
Wheaton, Ill.

Hot line

TO THE REVIEW:

In "A Reporter Feels the Heat" (CJR, January/February), Carolyn Lewis refers to a telephone conversation in which she alleges I called her and impersonated a "Jean Randall" of Time Incorporated. This is untrue. I have never called or spoken with Carolyn Lewis on the telephone. It is not in my character to use any other name than my own in dealing with other persons. Lewis knows that.

JEAN A. KEMENY
Hanover, N.H.

Carolyn Lewis replies: *That voice on the line sure sounded like Jean Kemeny, but if she says she didn't phone me, I am happy to accept her statement. I prefer to believe the best about people, anyhow.*

TO THE REVIEW:

Carolyn Lewis's article contains several factual inaccuracies about my role as public information director of the President's Commission on the Accident at Three Mile Island and about certain actions of the commission's chairman.

One of Lewis's major themes is the "orchestrated press coverage" which she claims the chairman, John Kemeny, and I engineered with "a rule that permitted only the chairman to talk to the press." In fact, that was not my rule or the chairman's, but the commission's. At its first meeting in April—about two weeks before Lewis was appointed—the commission unanimously passed a resolution proposed by Commissioner Bruce Babbitt that appointed the chairman, and myself in his absence, as the single spokesperson for the commission throughout its tenure. Commissioner Lewis was well aware of this resolution and certainly aware of the commission's reaffirmation of it later, because hers

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was one of the twelve hands raised in its unanimous adoption.

Lewis asserts that, at a time "when we . . . were desperate for technical information about Three Mile Island, Jorgenson and her crew were supplying us instead with clippings about the chairman's press conferences." Again, not so. Before we went to Middletown in mid-May, each commissioner was provided with a briefing book jointly assembled by my staff, the technical staff, and the legal staff. (It contained no news clippings of the chairman's news conferences).

Lewis writes that, by mid-May, "when the heads of the legal and technical staffs were still searching for trained personnel, Jorgenson's public information crew was up to eight or nine." The briefing book does indeed show my staff at eight. What it doesn't show is that my office was charged with responding to all inquiries coming in to the commission: 200 telephone calls each day and a similar number of letters.

Lewis also selectively excerpts the transcripts from which she quotes in her article, sometimes omitting crucial explanatory material. The most glaring example should suffice. In her discussion of the chairman's abstention on Sunday, she quotes Kemeny as saying ". . . I abstained . . . because of what I explained earlier, this is the wrong motion." She neglects to quote what he explained earlier. Kemeny had explained the day before that he could support no recommendation in which the Nuclear Regulatory Commission, as currently organized and staffed, was given the authority to decide when a moratorium might be lifted. The moratorium resolution on the table that Sunday morning would have allowed either the present NRC or a reconstituted NRC to decide when to lift the moratorium. That earlier statement is crucial to the understanding of the chairman's vote that day.

BARBARA JORGENSEN
Director, Office of Information
National Academy of Sciences
Washington, D.C.

Carolyn Lewis replies: *The main job of the commission was to find out what went wrong at TMI, why, and how to fix it. Yet one of chairman Kemeny's first concerns was to appoint a PR person, Barbara Jorgenson. During the first six weeks of the commission's life, Kemeny was almost entirely absent from Washington. Since he declined to appoint a full-time executive director, as is normal*

procedure in commissions, Jorgenson ran the show. Sure, the commissioners, out of courtesy, agreed to let the chairman speak for the group. My point is that, in practice, this meant that the outside world was unaware of the reality of the behind-the-scenes struggles.

Jorgenson says we had briefing books. In the early weeks, those books were a joke. It was only much later, when Stanley Gorinson, an antitrust lawyer from the Justice Department, moved in to head the investigation, that we received substantive, useful briefing books.

On the chairman's "no" vote on a moratorium: Dr. Kemeny did indicate he was uncomfortable that a moratorium on new licenses would be in the hands of the old NRC, since he had no faith in that agency. And yet, on December 7, when President Carter said he would retain the old NRC and further urged that the NRC end its self-imposed moratorium on licensing, Kemeny announced his "delight." It is plain to me that he was willing to vote for a moratorium as long as it had no chance to pass.

Strike journalism

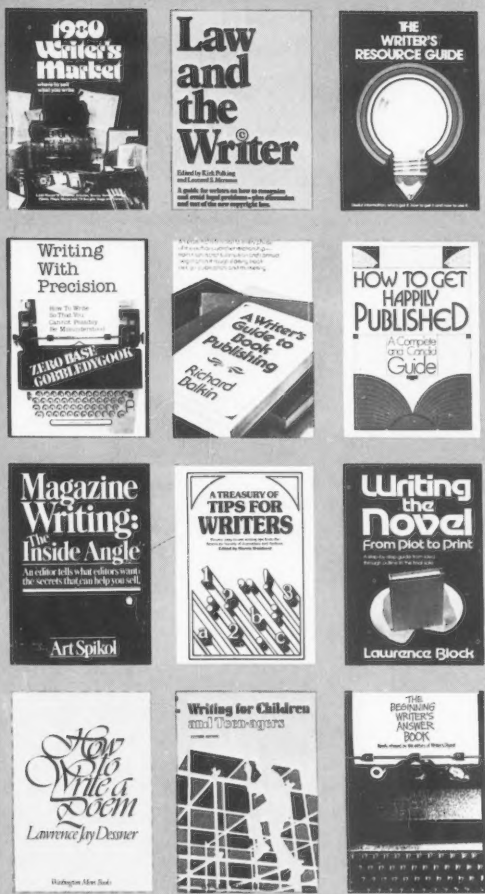
TO THE REVIEW:

Your "Chronicle" piece on Guild strike papers ("Journalism on the Line," CJR, January/February) suffers from a serious misconception: that the question of whether or not to make a strike paper permanent is one of Guild tactics.

The unhappy fact is that a decision to "go permanent" is made only when it is apparent that a strike is irredeemably lost. And that is invariably not a Guild decision but a decision of the strike-paper employees themselves, who will have to bear the brunt of the resulting competitive struggle without the aid of the strike benefits they have been receiving.

In Madison, it was the employees of the *Press Connection*, not the Guild, who decided to turn the paper into a worker-run cooperative; neither the Guild nor any other union had a hand in its operation. In the case of *The Down River Reporter*, its character as anything but a Guild instrument was even clearer; on going permanent, it was sold to an established newspaper company.

The same misconception of a permanent paper as a Guild tactic was also deposited in my mouth. The writer quotes me as saying that the Wilkes-Barre strike paper, the *Citizens' Voice*, "will consider setting up shop permanently if the strike isn't settled in a reasonable



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amount of time.' " I can't—and didn't—speak for the *Citizens' Voice*. The statement I am burdened with implies there is some kind of early deadline for settlement of the strike, after which Capital Cities will find itself with a permanent competitor in Guild clothing. The truth of the matter is that CapCities can have its monopoly back any time, just by climbing off Mt. Moneypile and negotiating a settlement.

The Guild doesn't want a newspaper. It wants a contract.

DAVID J. EISEN
Director, Research and Information
The Newspaper Guild

P.S. A subsidiary but not minor point: It is not true, as the writer states, that the Guild's position in arbitration over the Wilkes-Barre strike paper is that "because its contract has expired, the paper is legal." Our position is that the outside-activities clause, under which the company is bringing its claim, does not apply to a strike paper published while employees are on strike but only to employees while they are actively working for *The Times Leader*.

TO THE REVIEW:

In your story "Journalism on the Line" you state *The Times Leader's* circulation has tumbled to 25,000. In fact, our total circulation is 70,000 newspapers delivered daily. Our paid circulation is half of that figure.

It has been difficult during the past year to clarify our circulation figures. Paid circulation means more money in our pockets and, therefore, is important to us. Our advertisers, however, are interested primarily in reaching the maximum number of households in our primary market area. We have been satisfying their needs by delivering newspapers to 70,000 homes. At the same time, we have been increasing our paid circulation in order to meet our needs.

RICHARD L. CONNOR
Editor and publisher
The Times Leader
Wilkes-Barre, Pa.

Hope springs eternal

TO THE REVIEW:

Although it is easy—perhaps too obviously easy—to agree with the point of Orville Schell's article about Bob Hope in China ("The American Card Plays China," *CJR*, November/December), I wonder why Hope's age seems so important to the author? Hope was no different thirty years ago, and to describe him

as "aging" in one paragraph and "geriatric" in another does not serve the tenor of the article; it seems merely to confirm a prejudice we find too often in our younger journalists.

FRANK SCALPONE
New York, N.Y.

Barbed wires (II)

TO THE REVIEW:

I read with much interest "Inside the Wires' Banana Republics" (*CJR*, November/December). I can think of no excuse for Michael Massing's having neglected to take the trouble to check out the veracity of information before impugning a person's reputation.

Lawrence Birns, of the Council on Hemispheric Affairs, told Massing that I "never cover stories that involve dissident politicians or groups critical of dictatorship." My answer to both Massing and Birns is the attached copies of more than twenty-one wire stories I wrote for UPI, many of which can certainly not be regarded as favorable to dictatorial regimes. Many of them are based on news conferences sponsored by Birns's Council on Hemispheric Affairs and in some you will even find Birns's name. They cover the years 1978 and 1979.

ADOLFO G. MERINO
Correspondent for Latin
American affairs
United Press International
Washington, D.C.

The interlock bind

TO THE REVIEW:

After reading "Interlocking Directorates" by Peter Dreier and Steve Weinberg (*CJR*, November/December), I discovered that I now must feel guilty for activities which I heretofore carried on with pride. As publisher of a small-town weekly, I must abandon my membership in, and presidency of, the local business association. I must dissociate myself from our local youth soccer organization, and I will have to resign from the advisory board of our PBS television station.

I would like to ask the authors of this disturbing piece if they really feel it is essential to the integrity of a newspaper that its publisher, management, and investors sequester themselves in isolation from their community and refrain from giving time and energy to activities they deem worthwhile.

MARK FLINT
Publisher
Eagle Point Independent
Eagle Point, Ore.

NATIONAL NEWS COUNCIL REPORT

Protecting two vital freedoms: fair trial and free press

Late in 1979, the National News Council undertook a study to determine whether ways were available to avert damaging confrontations between the bar and press in criminal trial procedures without surrender by either side of their commitments to constitutional principles.

Out of that study came the following statement, which was approved by the Council at a meeting at the University of Miami in Coral Gables, Florida, on November 30.

Two constitutional rights vital to American democracy are menaced by the conflicts and mistrust that keep inflaming relations between the media and the criminal justice system over application of the First Amendment's guarantee of a free press and the Sixth Amendment's guarantee of a fair trial.

Tensions have reached a level of particular intensity in the wake of the five-to-four decision by the Supreme Court in the case of *Gannett Co., Inc. v. DePasquale*, which has been interpreted by judges in many parts of the country as permitting vastly increased latitude for excluding press and public from courtrooms at any and all stages of the trial process.

The National News Council, set up six years ago to promote both the freedom and the responsibility of the press, has sought almost from its inception to re-

The reports of the National News Council are prepared by the Council and appear in the Review as pertinent information and as a convenient reference source. Publication, which is made possible by the William and Mary Greve Foundation, does not imply approval or disapproval of the findings by the foundation or by the Review.

verse this unhealthy trend in relationships between the media and bench and bar by urging both sides to join in exploring voluntary approaches aimed at preventing confrontations without abandoning fundamental values.

The need for such joint exploration extends from coast to coast, in the nation's smallest communities, as well as its great metropolitan centers. That need was underscored for the Council by its receipt last August of a complaint alleging prejudicial pretrial publicity in a murder case in the Quad-Cities area of Iowa and Illinois. This report, prepared by the staff on instructions from the full Council, attempts to appraise the broader issues of journalistic responsibility raised by the Quad-Cities case and to fit them into the framework of practical machinery for press-bar cooperation.

The complaint was filed by a group of reporters acting on their own initiative. They accused a rival newspaper in their area of having breached the standards of sound journalistic practice, as well as the individual rights of a fifteen-year-old youth arrested but not yet indicted on charges of rape and murder. The complaint centered on publication of an exhaustive story detailing the youth's psychiatric and criminal record. The story used personal history to point up the asserted incapacity of any and all institutional safeguards created by society to deal effectively with a menace of the kind the paper said the youth represented.

The paper defended its story as a public service designed to meet the community's need to be aware of shortcomings in the criminal justice system that opened the way to increased violence and crime. "We saw this story not as a criminal issue, but as a social issue," said the editor involved. His feeling was that the paper had a positive obligation, while readers' interest in the crime was at a peak, to dramatize the impotence of established institutions—whether penological or psychiatric—to protect society against further killings or rapes by such a person.

An initial appraisal convinced the Council that the case pointed up a basic dilemma for the press in the ill-charted area of how best to resolve collisions between the occasionally conflicting consti-

tutional imperatives guaranteeing freedom of the press under the First Amendment and fairness of individual trial under the Sixth Amendment. The Council decided not to entertain the complaint as a specific grievance, but rather as the foundation for a more comprehensive assessment of what responsibility, if any, the press has in such matters.

The staff survey indicates a widespread and growing acceptance on the part of the press—in concept, if not always in practice—of an obligation to fulfill its duty to keep the public informed about crime, law enforcement, and the administration of justice in ways that do not trespass unfairly on the right of accused persons to be judged in an atmosphere free from passion, prejudice, and sensationalism.

There is nothing new about the recognition of this obligation. It was well-launched more than a decade ago, even before the American Bar Association adopted the so-called Reardon Report establishing new criminal justice standards for the guidance of judges, lawyers, law-enforcement officials, and court personnel in matters relating to fair trial and free press.

**'Conflicts and mistrust
keep inflaming relations
between the media
and bench and bar'**

A variety of specific spurs began operating in the 1950s and 1960s to translate into standards of ethical behavior by the press what had always been an amorphous awareness that journalists had some responsibility in this field. It was hoped that these standards would dovetail with increased attention by judges and court administrators to the need for maximum openness consistent with the requirements of fairness to the accused.

Among the earliest incentives to a re-examination of media practice was the circus atmosphere created by the press, almost totally without check by the judge or the opposing attorneys, in the murder-kidnap trial of Bruno Richard Hauptmann in New Jersey in 1935. This resulted in adoption by the bar of Canon

35, prohibiting picture-taking during trial proceedings. Within the press there was much deploring of the disregard that had been exhibited for both the dignity of the courtroom and the defendant's right to a fair trial, but no institutional reforms were adopted to lessen the danger of repetition.

New attention was directed to the problem by the abuses of press privilege that made a mockery of the Sam Shepard murder trial in Ohio in 1954 and of the televised fraud trial of Billie Sol Estes in Texas in 1962. In both cases the Supreme Court reversed convictions on the ground of prejudicial publicity. Another impetus for moves toward voluntary restraint came from the 1964 report of the Warren Commission urging the press, bar, and law-enforcement officials to devise workable standards for protecting the integrity of trial machinery in the wake of the assassination of President John F. Kennedy.

Out of these pressures developed voluntary moves by representatives of the media and the bar in a number of states, notably Oregon, Massachusetts, Kentucky, and Washington, to develop guidelines that would make the criminal justice process as fair as humanly possible without sacrificing freedom of the press. This movement got into full swing after the ABA formally approved the Reardon Report in 1968. It was the product of a three-year survey by a commission of prominent lawyers and judges under the chairmanship of Justice Paul C. Reardon of the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts. In common with all ABA standards, the precepts laid down by the panel were not binding, but were intended as recommendations to guide

'By mid-1974, nearly half the states of the Union had voluntary fair trial-free press agreements'

law-enforcement personnel. The ABA has no enforcement powers.

Nevertheless, the standards embodied in the Reardon Report made a significant start toward defining what had never been defined before in the realm of criminal justice, namely, the specific types of information deemed nonprejudicial that could be released for publication to satisfy the twin requirements of openness and press freedom, and also the types of information that should not be released if prejudice were to be avoided

in subsequent trials.

Even though these standards evolved as an outgrowth of extensive field surveys and consultations with organizations representing the print and electronic media, many editors, publishers, and broadcasters objected to them from the start as unduly restrictive. The ABA itself endorsed the concept that voluntary agreements at the state and local level represented a preferable approach to implementation of the new standards than any reliance on mandatory court rules.

By mid-1974, joint meetings of representatives of bench and bar, on the one hand, and news organizations, on the other, had resulted in promulgation in nearly half the states of the Union of voluntary fair trial-free press agreements aimed at responsible conduct by both sides. In general, these set forth guidelines based on Reardon on what information was or was not appropriate for release at the time of arrest and at all other times prior to trial, as well as in the course of trial. Insofar as the press was concerned, these guidelines were not advanced as binding prescriptions but as admonitions to be cognizant of the risk of prejudice that might be created by disregarding them.

In most states the guidelines exerted some beneficial influence, though press adherence to them was often episodic when cases of special news interest came along. This was particularly true when those under charges were politically or socially prominent or when the details of the crime were more than normally shocking or sensational. Even in such cases, however, the existence of liaison committees to raise the consciousness of both the media and the judicial establishment to the values underlying the codes appeared to be making commendable headway.

What interrupted this progress was the issuance in 1975 by a county judge in the tiny town of Sutherland, Nebraska (population: 850) of an order requiring the press not to print or broadcast confessions or other admissions "strongly implicative" of guilt made in advance of trial by a suspect in a multiple-murder case. The judge's order specifically required members of the media to observe a provision in the *Nebraska Press-Bar Guidelines* that listed confessions and other statements that might influence the outcome of a trial as "not generally appropriate for reporting." When the press appealed the order, the Nebraska Supreme Court moved away from any reliance on the guidelines. However, it independently sustained the mandate for suppression,

in the interest of a fair trial, of any confessions or other incriminatory admissions the accused had made to law-enforcement officials. The United States Supreme Court reversed this ukase as an unconstitutional exercise of prior restraint, but the entire experience convinced many in the press that there was danger in pursuing cooperative efforts with bench and bar for the mutual exercise of self-restraint.

Fortunately, this trend proved neither

'Concern remains widespread that guidelines can become straitjackets'

permanent nor universal. While concern remains widespread among editors, reporters, and broadcasters that guidelines can become straitjackets unless they allow flexibility in the exercise of news judgment, there is a recognition in most areas that the press cannot shrug off its responsibility for helping to assure an impartial environment for the conduct of criminal trials.

That recognition has been sharpened by a lengthening list of restrictive rulings by judges, closing courtrooms, imposing far-reaching gag orders, and otherwise inhibiting journalistic freedom. Resentment within the press against the spread of such orders has been accompanied by a considerable awareness that many of the confrontations might have been averted, without sacrifice of free press principles, if more adequate machinery existed for out-of-court communication between leaders on both sides.

Perhaps the best example of the usefulness of liaison machinery of this sort is provided by experience in the state of Washington. Its guidelines began evolving in 1963 at the initiative of the state judiciary and full agreement was reached three years later. By now, according to Paul R. Conrad, executive director of the Allied Daily Newspaper Association in Seattle, the guidelines have taken on "a biblical character," so much so that no one in either press or bar wants to change a word, even for the correction of faulty grammar.

The chief justice of the Washington Supreme Court serves as permanent chairman of the joint administrative committee supervising the operation of the guidelines, but there are no sanctions and no formal censures for breaches of the code. "The key to our success," says

It is the best Cause; the Cause of Liberty; and I make no Doubt but your upright Conduct, this Day, will not only entitle you to the Love and Esteem of your Fellow-Citizens; but every Man who prefers Freedom to a Life of Slavery will bless and honour You, as Men who have baffled the attempt of Tyranny; and by an impartial and uncorrupt Verdict, have laid a Noble Foundation for securing to ourselves, our Posterity and our Neighbors, That, to which Nature and the Laws of our Country have given us a Right,—the Liberty—both of exposing and opposing arbitrary Power...by speaking and writing—Truth.

ANDREW HAMILTON, 1735

Andrew Hamilton addressed these words to a jury in 1735 on behalf of the publisher of the *New York Weekly Journal*. He was defending John Peter Zenger against charges of seditious libel. So powerful were his words, that it took only a few moments for the jury to find Zenger not guilty.

A milestone in the history of our country, this momentous verdict established truth as the criterion in American libel suits and represented a symbolic triumph for freedom of the press.

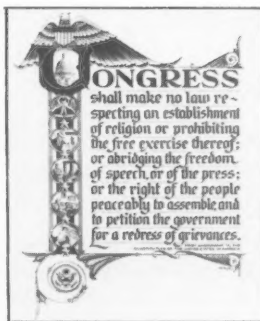
Much has changed since John Peter Zenger stood trial, but not the concern of mankind about personal freedom and freedom of expression. Here in the United States, the

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Mr. Conrad, the committee's permanent secretary, "is an appreciation on almost everyone's part of how important it is to respect the spirit of the guidelines." In line with that spirit, he will occasionally call an editor who steps over the line and ask why he felt justified in departing from the general rule. Peer pressure of that type from leaders on both sides has proved sufficient for well over a decade. So long as the great majority of news organizations adhere in good faith to the code, an occasional infraction cannot do much damage, Mr. Conrad observes.

In practical terms, the code's effectiveness is demonstrated most concretely by the agreement of both sides to maintain what Mr. Conrad calls "a fire brigade" to damp impending confrontations between the press and the judiciary before they occur. This consists of an ongoing liaison committee of seven members—two respected trial judges, a prosecutor, a practicing attorney, and three representatives of the media. The function of the liaison group is so well understood throughout the state that it usually receives advance notice of any possible collision and seeks to work out accommodations that will obviate the need for closing courtrooms or the issuance of other judicial orders that might be deemed unduly restrictive. The group's services may be invoked by judges, news personnel, law-enforcement agencies, and legal counsel.

Several years ago the liaison committee was alerted to the intention of a judge to issue some extremely rigid rules governing pretrial hearings in connection with graft charges against some of the state's most prominent politicians. The panel persuaded the judge to let it rewrite the order in ways that satisfied him and yet made it sufficiently acceptable to the press that the news organizations agreed to go along with it. Many other cases are cited of bending by both the judiciary and the press to keep intact principles vital to both.

Mr. Conrad sums up the Washington experience with this capsule explanation of the approach now taken by most of the press in that state: "Some have learned the hard way by paying counsel when they could have saved their money and got the result they wanted by talking things out. We all have to remember that we must play the game on the judge's court."

In Oregon, the pioneer state in adopting voluntary guidelines in 1962, the experience has also been encouraging. Two examples will assist in understanding the degree to which both sides have modified

traditional practices. One involved the handling by the Oregon press, both print and electronic, of pretrial information on the Rideout wife-rape trial, which originated in that state a little over a year ago. The novelty of a wife accusing her husband of rape made the case a sensation on national television and in out-of-state newspapers long before it reached the trial stage, but almost without exception the media within Oregon abstained from anything more than coverage of the basic facts until allegations were made in the form of court testimony.

This was true not only of newspapers that subscribed to the guidelines but of those that respected their intent but did not wish to give even the appearance of being bound by any restraints that were not based on the editors' independent

'Washington State's fair trial-free press guidelines have taken on a biblical character.'

judgment. Thus, John H. McMillan, executive editor of the *Oregon Statesman* in Salem, a nonsubscriber to the code, says: "We were criticized by our own reporters for running practically nothing pretrial about a case in our own backyard, but it still seems to me in retrospect it was the right thing to do. We did, of course, give our readers all the details when the case came to trial."

Donald J. Sterling, Jr., editor of the *Oregon Journal* in Portland, a longtime supporter of the cooperative spirit embodied in the guidelines, cites a second instance of their persuasiveness in reshaping encrusted attitudes. Two years ago the Oregon Judicial Conference, a coordinating body for the judiciary in that state, adopted what amounted to a self-denying ordinance for judges—one that commits them to engage in three-way conversations with representatives of the print and electronic media and the bar before closing courtrooms or issuing gag orders. Even after such conversations, a judge planning to go through with a restrictive order is still obligated, under this unanimous decision by the judicial conference, to hold a hearing in an open courtroom at which he must state publicly his reasons for believing that the order is necessary to safeguard the right of the defendant to a fair trial and that no alternative measures can be relied on to achieve the same end.

So firmly committed are the Oregon

judges to preventing conflict in the administration of First and Sixth Amendment guarantees that no occasion has arisen in the two-and-a-half years since adoption of their decision for invoking the consultative machinery it provides. On the part of the press and bar, a similar spirit of resolve to make the voluntary guidelines work without external pressure prevails. The statewide associations of publishers, broadcasters, and the bar have established a joint committee that is empowered to consider complaints of violation of the guidelines, but its services have been invoked only two or three times in the nearly six years since its creation. The panel's authority is limited to the issuance of recommendations and to publicizing them.

"We do not live in a combative atmosphere out here," is part of the explanation Mr. Sterling gives for the long life of the guidelines. In common with virtually all their counterparts in other states, the Oregon standards note explicitly that final judgment on what to print and what to omit must rest with editors and news directors. The code is couched, in its sections dealing with the responsibility of the press, in such terms as "it is usually appropriate" to print or broadcast certain types of information and "it is rarely appropriate to disclose for publication or to report prior to trial" certain other types, notably prior criminal records,

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confessions, or statements concerning the credibility or anticipated testimony of prospective witnesses.

However, some concern has recently arisen among media supporters of the Oregon code that law-enforcement agencies will seek to mandate some of the limitations now stipulated as guides for voluntary action. The district attorney in Washington County, which embraces the western suburbs of Portland, recently promulgated major provisions of the code relating to the release of information in criminal cases as absolute prohibitions, rather than optional standards. Efforts now are under way to work out a modification to return the precepts to a foundation of voluntarism.

In New York State, where guidelines have been in effect for a decade under the statewide monitorship of a joint Fair Trial-Free Press Conference, their influence is less clear-cut than it is in the Pacific Northwest. Francis B. Looney, counsel to the State Association of Chiefs of Police who chairs a regional committee that seeks to promote cooperative relationships between press and bar in the metropolitan area, says "the guidelines are livelier than ever." James C. Goodale, then vice chairman and general counsel of *The New York Times*, discounts the guidelines as operational rules editors can be expected to live by, but expresses enthusiasm for the usefulness of the joint press-bar committee as a forum for discussing issues and heading off collisions.

Mr. Looney reports that Lawrence H. Cooke, the new chief judge of the State Court of Appeals, is providing "dynamic

**'Flexibility
must characterize the
application
of any guidelines'**

leadership" for the effort to encourage cooperation, as did his predecessors, Stanley Fuld and Charles D. Breitell. The conference meets once a year on a statewide basis and its four regional committees hold periodic sessions to deal with problems arising in their districts.

Such meetings were held by Mr. Looney's committee in connection with the furor over the "Son of Sam" murders that rocked the metropolitan area in 1977. Representatives of the *Times*, the *New York Daily News*, and *Newsday* sat in on these sessions, along with Judge Bernard Meyer of the Court of Appeals, but attempts to persuade the *New York*

Post to join in the discussions failed.

According to Mr. Looney, there was general agreement that the volume of legitimate public interest in the "Son of Sam" case, particularly in the period before the killer was apprehended, made it impossible to believe that any guidelines could have helped much in inhibiting pretrial publicity, prejudicial or otherwise. In general, Mr. Looney says, he operates on the theory that his committee does play a constructive role by urging editors not to repeat actions that contravene the guidelines, even though it has no direct authority to tell the press what not to do.

Mr. Goodale of the *Times* shares this general belief, despite his warning that the guidelines break down whenever an attempt is made to convert them into rules. He feels that the very fact of the New York State code's existence exerts an inherent influence over many activities by public bodies or study groups on how to handle problems in the criminal justice field. As one example, he notes that a state committee considering new rules on public access to police records of arrests and convictions cited the fair trial-free press guidelines as an influential factor in its debate.

Mr. Goodale says that flexibility must characterize the application of any guidelines. He concedes that editors often abuse the discretion this permits, but he insists latitude must be allowed them if press-bar standards are to operate constructively. He also observes that the increasing reliance of the criminal justice system on plea bargaining as a means of clearing court calendars has made it difficult for editors to know when or whether the release of certain information might be prejudicial, especially in cases involving important social issues where timing is crucial to the impact of a story.

In California, the adoption in 1970 of a comprehensive statement of principles and policies by the statewide bench, bar, and press was followed by the establishment in many counties, including San Francisco, Los Angeles, San Diego, Orange, Alameda, Riverside, and Marin, of local press-bar groups to carry out and implement the purposes of the joint declaration. The success of these local bodies tended to vary in direct relation to the quality of the local leadership and the intensity of involvement by local judges and editors.

One of the most effective of the California groups has been the committee in San Mateo County, co-chaired by a judge of the Superior Court and the pub-

lisher of *The Redwood City Tribune*. Its record has been so outstanding that a joint task force of the American Bar Association and the American Newspaper Publishers Association has distributed a report on its activities to publisher affiliates throughout the country as a possible model.

The San Mateo committee functions through the medium of monthly dinner meetings, normally attended by thirty-

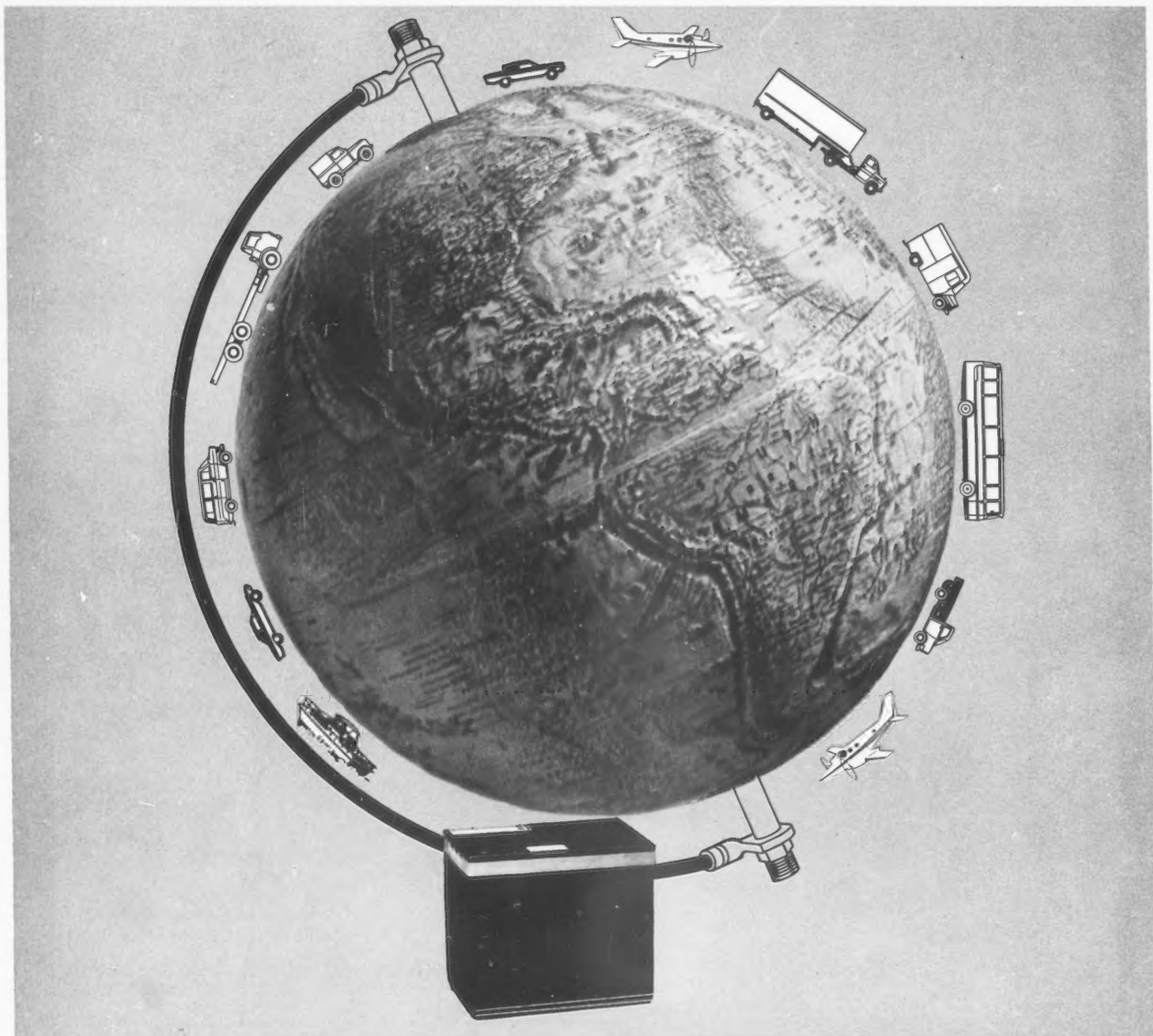
**'Most participants
agree that the San Mateo
press-bar group
has bettered relationships'**

five to forty representatives of all branches of law enforcement and the media. The agenda is kept elastic, covering any and all topics of mutual concern. In the early stages much of the discussion focused on gag orders and the admission of cameras to the courtroom, but consensus on these points is now so nearly universal within the group—both in the direction of maximum openness—that they rarely arise any more.

Among the topics discussed with total frankness on both sides have been interpretations of libel law, differences of opinion over disclosure of secret grand jury testimony, access to information about juvenile offenders, and judicial resentment against editorial treatment of issues arising in the courts or within the judiciary.

Often the two sides wind up almost as far apart in viewpoint as they had been at the start, but most participants apparently agree with the estimate of J. Hart Clinton, publisher of the *San Mateo Times and News Leader*, that the committee has bettered relationships. That it has not yet achieved anything like millennial relationships is reflected in his further comment: "The members of the press, I believe, have a better understanding of the manner in which judges and lawyers operate. I am still not fully convinced that judges fully understand the principles upon which editors and reporters cover the news and suspect that there is an underlying feeling on the part of many judges and lawyers that we only print the sensational and that we are editors and publishers in a commercial sense rather than for the purpose of discharging a professional duty to keep our readers informed."

The broad distribution given by the national associations to the San Mateo report is already bearing fruit. In Flori-



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da, where there is no statewide joint committee, Judith L. Kreeger, chairman of the Florida bar's annual media law conference, reports that the document is being studied by leaders on both sides as a basis for emulation in Miami or other centers. That prospect has been heightened by the recent move to Miami of James D. Spaniolo, to-be house counsel for *The Miami Herald*. Earlier this year, Mr. Spaniolo was staff attorney for the American Newspaper Publishers Association in its participation in the Joint ABA-ANPA Task Force. The joint group was set up in 1977 to serve as a forum through which the ABA and ANPA could discuss issues of mutual concern, including differences over fair trial and free press.

It is not necessary to proceed in book-long detail to document the existence elsewhere of a recognition within the media that part of the responsibility for assuring fairness of criminal trial rests with the press. Paul Fisher, director of the Freedom of Information Center at the University of Missouri, reports signs of intensified interest all over the country in reinvigorating moribund instruments for press-bar cooperation. A potent recent spur to that interest has been the Supreme Court's ruling in the case of *Gannett Co., Inc. v. DePasquale*, coming as it did after several other decisions viewed as restrictive by many in the press.

Even now, however, Mr. Fisher says, it is the bar that is extending the hand of acceptance, with the press reluctant to return to the handshake. He says many editors remain "paranoid" about anything they consider infringements on their freedom.

A less pessimistic view comes from Terry Maguire, associate general counsel of ANPA, who last May replaced Mr. Spaniolo as the association's staff representative on the joint task force. He says the *DePasquale* decision awakened the press to an appreciation of the revised standard on fair trial-free press (8-3.2) adopted by the ABA House of Delegates in 1978. The ambiguous language of that Supreme Court decision affecting a murder case in upstate New York alarmed observers inside and outside the media by the breadth of the authority it seemingly vested in trial judges to shut press and public out of various phases of criminal proceedings. Its thrust ran totally counter to the spirit of openness that marks Standard 8-3.2. Mr. Maguire reports that the new sense of urgency stirred by the *DePasquale* case has made the ANPA co-chairman on the task force, Joe R. Seacrest, board chairman of the

Lincoln (Nebraska) Journal, doubly anxious to make the group a success. The publishers' side of the panel is working hard to that end, Mr. Maguire says, but he adds: "There is an aversion to guidelines on a national basis, a belief that each problem needs address in its local context."

Despite the current concentration on improving communication at the state and local level, the case against a complementary approach by the media at the national level is far from conclusive. Certainly, there are at least as many local and regional divergences in the operation of courts and law-enforcement agencies as there are in the operation of the press. Yet that has not stopped the ABA from adopting a national standard on fair trial-free press and recommending its implementation on a federal, state, and local basis. Why parallel standards are inappropriate for the ANPA, the American Society of Newspaper Editors, or other national journalistic bodies in the broadcast and print fields is unclear. The

'The essence of the do's and don'ts is the same in all the states that have guidelines'

voluntary guidelines that now exist in many states all over the country are virtual mirror images of one another, with no local variations of any discernible significance.

Without exception, these guidelines put on the "yes" list for public release such items as the name, age, residence, job, and similar background information about the accused; the substance or text of the charge; the identity of the investigating and arresting agency; and the circumstances of the arrest, including any weapons used or seized. On the caution side of the ledger is a similarly standard list of items whose disclosure in advance of trial, press and bar are warned, may create danger of prejudice without serving a legitimate law-enforcement or public-interest function. Among these are confessions or admissions attributed to the defendant, opinions about guilt or innocence, the results of lie-detector tests or the refusal of the accused to take such tests, and statements concerning the credibility or anticipated testimony of prospective witnesses. Limitations are also suggested on the publication of prior criminal records, especially on the eve of trial. The essence of the "dos" and "don'ts" is the same in California as it is

in New York and in all the states in between that still have guidelines.

A decade ago the ASNE did begin an effort to devise national standards in cooperation with the bar. Richard M. Schmidt, Jr. of Washington, who was then as now the ASNE's general counsel, was also serving as chairman of the ABA's committee on communications, which had oversight of fair trial-free press issues. That made him a natural bridge between the two groups and several meetings were held by ranking officials on both sides. However, these were never pressed to the point of an agreement in principle on joint approaches.

The ASNE has just completed a nationwide study of the machinery that exists in the various states for press-bar cooperation and for adherence to guidelines. Ruth G. Lehman, associate editor of the *Longmont (Colorado) Daily Times-Call*, who pulled the information together, found that twenty-six states had some form of joint committee and that eight others were in a never-never land in which it was hard to be sure whether a committee did or did not exist. The absence of a formal committee did not necessarily imply a total absence of communication or even an absence of guidelines, according to the ASNE report. No detailed analysis of the data was attempted by the association. Instead, it turned all the raw material over to the University of Missouri's Freedom of Information Center, with a request that it try to keep an up-to-date file on all press-bar compacts.

The Joint ABA-ANPA Task Force is following a more action-oriented course. As a prod to cooperative moves where none are now being made, it has been acting as a clearinghouse for exchange of ideas originating in the states and localities that do have programs. It is interested in seeing to completion a press-bar project to publish two books for journalists and lawyers, as well as students, on the role of press and law in our society. The project began in 1974-75 under the leadership of Judge Paul Roney of the United States Court of Appeals in Florida. The first textbook will be published early this year. It is entitled *The Reporter and the Law*, by Lyle Denniston of *The Washington Star*. A similar book for lawyers is in preparation but no publication date has been set. The idea of the two volumes is, in Mr. Maguire's words, to "explain one another's business." Films, videotapes, and other instructional material for use at professional meetings and in schools are also part of the task force program.

continued

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The National News Council is no newcomer to this attempt to promote better understanding as an alternative to damaging conflict between the courts and the media. As early as January 1976, months before the Supreme Court rendered its ruling in the case of *Nebraska Press Association v. Stuart*, the Council proposed establishment of a joint committee to encourage voluntary restraint by the press and to discourage mandatory restraint by judges. One vehicle was to be the publication of annual reports calling attention to specific examples of successes and abuses in the coverage of court proceedings. The committee would also have sponsored media-bar workshops and seminars to promote more cooperative relationships.

Even before an ABA fair trial-free press committee, headed by Federal Appeals Court Judge Alfred T. Goodwin of Oregon, completed the final draft of its revised criminal justice standards, the Council welcomed in an April 1978 statement the spirit of openness that permeated the bar committee's approach. Once again the Council urged the establishment of instruments of two-way communication as a means of guarding against clashes detrimental to both press and bar in fulfilling their essential obligations to the American people. It saw the new standards as an excellent foundation for such efforts.

That same theme has been stressed by the Council in a half-dozen subsequent statements, most of them touched off by specific court rulings that caused worries within the press that its rights were being unfairly curtailed. At its meeting in New York last September, the Council concluded its discussion of the Supreme Court's ruling in the *DePasquale* case by noting that, even if the Court acted swiftly to remove the confusion left in the wake of that decision, there would remain a need for resumption of direct communication among bench, bar, and press on means to implement the salutary precepts of Standard 8-3.2.

In explorations following the formal adoption of the new standards, the Council staff found leaders of the bar extremely receptive to the idea that the principles of openness they rested on could best be translated into judicial and journalistic practice through widespread establishment of liaison committees to promote such communication.

Judge Goodwin, the standards' chief author, suggested, on the basis of his own experience in the Northwest, that it might even be practicable to set up what amounted to a "hot line" system,

through which judges or editors contemplating moves that might engender controversy could consult peers with expertise in this field before handing down an order or running a particular story.

Unfortunately, the News Council's staff explorations reached a dead end because many elements in the press have been so apprehensive about what they perceive to be animus toward their First Amendment rights on the part of the courts that, until the *DePasquale* decision, most took almost no note of the very different spirit reflected in the revised standards or of the potentialities they offer for a cooperative approach.

The staff study of the questions raised by the complaint of prejudicial pretrial publicity in the Quad-Cities murder case convinces us that the kind of problem such cases present for editors can best be handled where there is a climate of awareness that balanced consideration must be accorded to both sides of the fair trial-free press equation.

'A "hot line" system
could lessen
the danger of press-bar
collisions'

If there had existed in the Quad Cities some long-standing counterpart of the monthly forum that brings judges, editors, and law-enforcement officials together in San Mateo, it is reasonable to suppose that the responsible editors there might have given more weight to the possibility that the social issue that concerned them—the asserted incapacity of either the correctional or the mental health establishment to protect the community against recurrent crimes by homicidal sex deviates—could be presented just as effectively after the accused youth's guilt or innocence had been established within the judicial system. If there had been a "fire brigade" of the type that exists in Washington State or a "hot line" of the type Judge Goodwin proposed, the editors might have consulted experts from within the media or the legal system on the extent to which a story of the kind they contemplated might jeopardize the constitutional rights of the still unindicted youngster. In the end the decision would have to rest with the editors, but it might have been a different decision—one that would not have left the attorney for the accused saying: "I have no choice but to ask for a change of venue."

No system of press-bar interchange will eliminate the likelihood of occasional collision between press and bar over impasses in their attempts to reconcile their respective duties under the First and Sixth Amendments. Inevitably, situations will arise in which editors may feel they must disregard prevailing constraints if they are to force needed reforms in the criminal justice system or if the rights of victims and their families are to be protected against sacrifice in the name of fairness to the accused. Similarly, jurists will, on occasion, find it necessary to act in accordance with their own convictions when they find themselves irreconcilably at odds with the media in their perceptions of the point at which the requirements of justice demand a tipping of the scales toward closing courtrooms or sealing records. Such adherence to principle by people with honest differences of view is not only inevitable but salutary in a democracy. That said, it remains true, as the National News Council observed in its January 1976 proposal for closer press-bar liaison, that "no responsible journalist wants to jeopardize fair trials, and no lawyer or judge wishes to impose restraints that peril a free press."

More effective conduits for mutual exploration of free press-fair trial problems, based on the concept of encouraging responsible behavior, rather than on prohibitions and prescriptions, remain the most hopeful approach to bilateral protection of these two basic freedoms without bartering away either to make the other more secure.

One other ingredient is indispensable, however. That is the involvement in both press and bench and bar of people with a sensitivity to the problem and a commitment to finding voluntary solutions that both deem viable and consistent with the values they hold precious. The presence on both sides of personalities of such calibre is more important than any code or institutional structure.

Where ranking editors and chief judges adopt a missionary role in communicating to news staffs and judicial conferences a dedication to making this joint effort work successfully, cooperation of the kind that exists in Oregon and Washington can become the norm, not a lonely bastion of sanity in an increasingly turbulent battlefield.

Concurring: Brady, Huston, Isaacs, McKay, Otwell, Pulitzer, Renick, Roberts, Rusher, and Salant.

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REPORTS

"Aristotle and the Advertisers: The Television Commercial Considered as a Form of Drama," by Martin Esslin, *Kenyon Review*, Fall 1979

Hamlet it's not—but there are more things in heaven and earth and that sixty-second coffee commercial you watched last night than are dreamt of, Horatio. In fact, says Esslin, a drama critic and former head of the BBC's radio drama department, most TV commercials bear a remarkable resemblance to classical dramatic forms. Applying Aristotle's poetics, Esslin argues that the plot, dialogue, character, and setting of today's ubiquitous TV commercial more than qualifies it as a genuine dramatic genre of unprecedented significance.

A typical three-part playlet, Esslin explains, moves from (1) the potentially tragic loss of love or success threatened by the absence of deodorant, hairspray, or denture glue to (2) the suggested solution, culminating in a moment of insight, followed by (3) the successful resolution. There is even a chorus, notes Esslin, that chants the moral.

Esslin's thesis becomes particularly arresting in its analysis of the conventional authority figures that people the commercials: the wise and trusted confidant imparting Delphic secrets of the best detergent; the celebrity-demigods, such as John Wayne (Hercules) and Farrah Fawcett-Majors (Aphrodite), who simultaneously take their power from the medium while giving it to the message; supernatural beings, such as the animated knights who fight off dirt—elements, all, of the myth crucial to ritual drama.

What moral principles inform this sixty-second universe? It's a polytheistic world, Esslin answers, dominated by a pantheon of powerful forces, a primitive world where animism and fetishism hold sway. But it is also a world, he hastens to assure us, which has not been created by the wicked gods of television advertising, but which has evolved out of the fantasies and beliefs of the masses who view it. As such, says Esslin, the dramatic phenomenon of the television commercial is neither to be despised nor dismissed, but rather recognized and understood.

"Endless Possibilities," by James Stevenson, *The New Yorker*, December 31, 1979

As *New Yorker* profiles go, this one has

the virtues of a quick, incisive sketch—an apt approach to its gifted subject, political cartoonist Patrick Oliphant. Drawn to his specialty by a vision of the "endless possibilities" of a journalistic form that combines pictures and words, Oliphant in his twenty-four year career has produced more than 8,000 political cartoons, picked up a Pulitzer, and earned a reputation as one of the most widely read and admired, most copied and deplored cartoonists in America.

Stevenson takes us to Oliphant's office at *The Washington Star*, where we follow the step-by-step creation of an Oliphant cartoon. We are treated to his musings and his pleasure at abusive mail; we learn that he avoids personal contact with politicians for fear that he may like them. We tag along with Oliphant through the Daumier exhibit at the National Gallery, where he gazes, laughs, and exclaims at the work of the master: seeing Daumier, he says, is a reminder that "there's lots to be done yet." Finally, Stevenson takes us to lunch at Jenkins Hill, where the cartoonist shares memories of his poor Australian youth—his first job was as a gofer at Rupert Murdoch's *Adelaide News*—and his strong views on editorial independence. The cartoonist's first job, he declares, must be to train his editors and publisher. There must be no forbidden areas or sacred cows, a realistic acceptance of the risk of offense, and a fundamental belief in what you are saying. The exhausting part, says Oliphant, is deciding what you believe.

"Barry in Africa: How Washington's Mayor Got a Free Ride," by Joseph Nocera, *The Washington Monthly*, November 1979

What's the difference between a junket and a journey? As far as *The Washington Post* is concerned, says Nocera, it seems to depend on who's doing the traveling. Wistfully recalling the jugular jobs the *Post* has done in the past in reporting on the taxpayer-paid trips of public officials it did not admire, Nocera detects a decided shift in the paper's approach to Washington Mayor Marion Barry's July trip to Africa.

His typewriter dripping with sarcasm, Nocera retraces the actual steps of Barry's sentimental, \$135-a-day "replay of Roots"—his diplomatic gaffes, his large

collection of (illegal) foreign gifts, his wife's questionable assignment while on the trip to drum up AID business for her employer, and above all, his absence from his mayoral duties at a critical juncture in the budgetary process. Nocera contrasts all of this to the straightforward, unquestioning narrative that the *Post* presented in the dignified series "African Journal."

Why hasn't the paper tallied up the value of the gifts? Why aren't *Post* reporters looking into the conflict-of-interest implications of Effie Barry's job? Why the silence on Barry's absence during an important budget fight? Confronting head-on the delicate issue of race, Nocera attributes the *Post's* kid-gloves treatment of Barry's African junket to the fact that the mayor is black. In its desire to avoid racism, he says, the paper has adopted a double standard of reporting on whites and blacks (even its Style section, he charges, confines pieces about blacks to reverence and puff)—and its failure to dig into this particular story is but one example of its unwillingness to ask any tough questions about Barry and his administration.

As the Barry saga makes clear, discrimination may take many forms, and none of them is good for journalism.

"Behind Emmy," by Patrick McGilligan, *American Film*, November 1979

You've come a long way, Emmy, since that first modest affair in January 1949 when 600 banquet guests applauded the untelevised presentation of the National Academy of Television Arts and Sciences award to *Pantomime Quiz*. But fame has not come cheap. This concise, informative article by the arts editor of Boston's *Real Paper* traces the fortunes of the award over the past thirty-one years—the politics of production, the proliferation of the prizes, the complexities of the voting process. McGilligan also discusses the Hollywood insurrection that resulted in the cancellation of the 1977 show and eventually produced another organization, the Academy of Television Arts and Sciences, and notes the dependence of both academies on the proceeds from the network telecasts.

For the uninitiated (who may not even know that Emmy derives her name from "immie," the technician's sobriquet for the Image Orthicon camera), McGilligan's article will be most useful where he describes the internal politics of the awards. The NATAS, for example, which in the reorganization settlement

drew the short straw (responsibility for choosing the Emmys for daytime programming, news, and documentaries), is trying to increase the stature of the news and documentary awards. ATAS, for its part, is involved in a major effort to reform and restructure the awards, the voting, the categories, and the prime-time telecast. Emmy's image has picked up plenty of tarnish, but there are encouraging signs, McGilligan notes, of ready hands working to achieve a new polish. Stay tuned.

"The Quality of Spoken English on BBC Radio," *A Report for the BBC* by Robert W. Burchfield, Denis Donoghue, and Andrew Timothy, October 1979

Rising nobly to the challenge that the quality of its language is in sharp decline, BBC radio last spring commissioned an independent evaluation by an experienced broadcaster, an eminent professor of English, and the chief editor of The Oxford English Dictionary. Each of the experts put in about a month of critical listening, and their short but weighty conclusions are presented in this unusual twenty-four-page pamphlet.

Although the report necessarily includes a number of references to particular "presenter/announcers" and "news-readers" who will for the most part be unfamiliar to American audiences, it contains much that is instructive, provocative, and not a little entertaining. (Burchfield's research, for example, reveals that pre-World War II news bulletins carried much more detail about royal comings and goings—"The King has told the Royal Aero Club that he desires to give a cup annually for the King's Cup Air Race"—which, Burchfield suggests, is a change in content that listeners may be confusing with a change in style.) A substantial part of the critique, of course, centers on such matters as false emphasis and faulty pronunciation, awkward phrasing and incorrect grammar, confused meaning and meaningless fillers. Of greater interest is the attempt to explore the behind-the-mike reasons for some of the lapses and the implicit debate on the proper role of the BBC as linguistic standard-bearer for the nation.

Surprisingly, of the three monitors, the broadcaster registers the most alarm, while the OED editor appears to be concerned the least. But while all the experts give the BBC high marks for excellence, they all agree on the need for continuing vigilance. American networks please copy.

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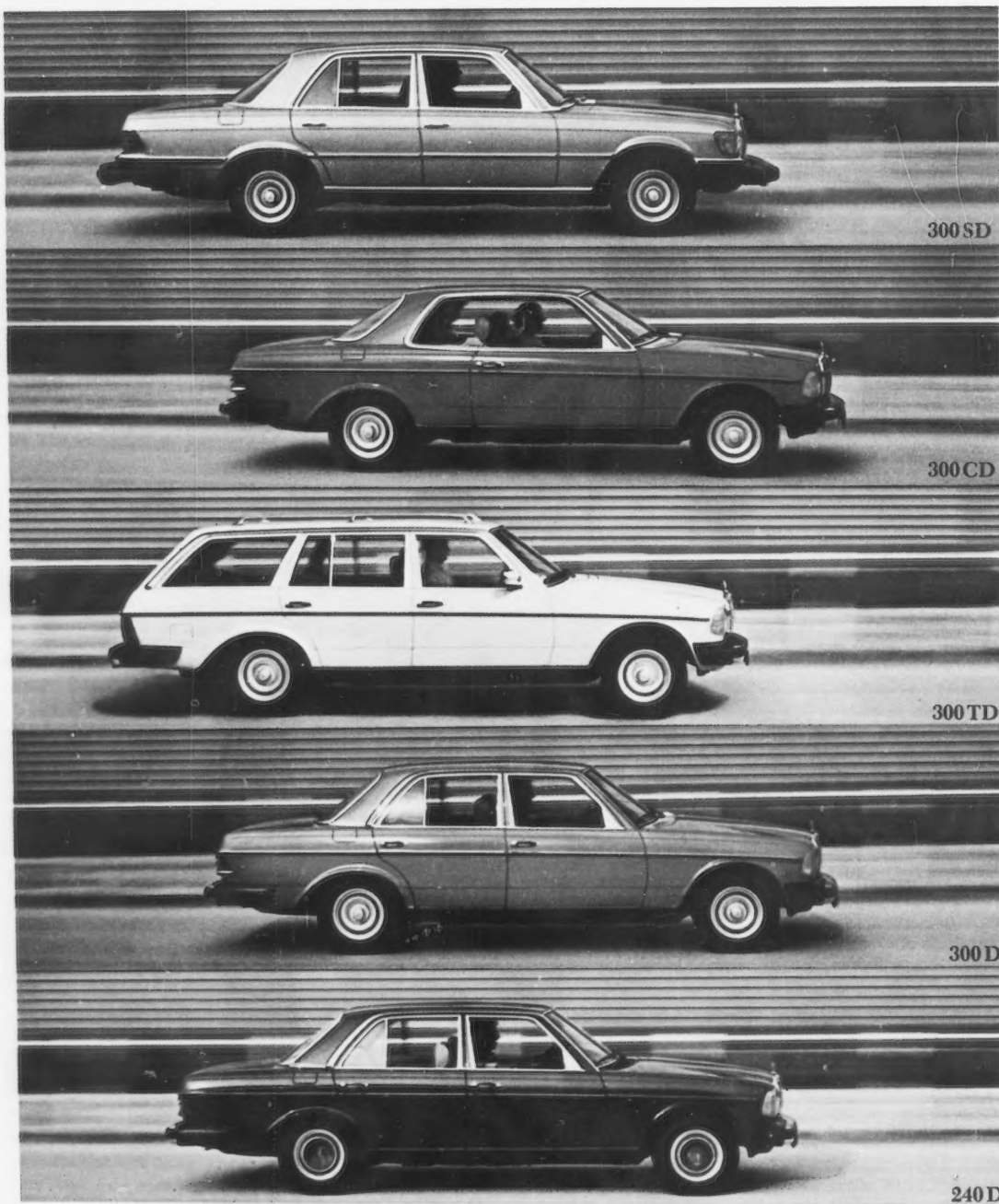
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The Pontiac-Waterford (Mich.) Times 1/31/80

Brown tells China Navy to stay No. 1

Rocky Mountain News 1/13/80

Debate brews over ethnics in execution by lethal injection

Las Vegas Daily Optic 1/24/80

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Dow Jones wire 12/6/79

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The New York Times 12/28/79

Accused pair of wire cutters arraigned

Yakima (Wash.)
Herald Republic 11/19/79

Doe Season Start Called Success; Four Hunters Stricken in Woods

Williamsport (Pa.) Sun-Gazette 12/11/79

Nude Club Owner Going Into Politics

The Burlington (Vt.) Free Press 12/14/79

The nine men who compromise the Supreme Court are very human in their handling of cases and relations with each other.

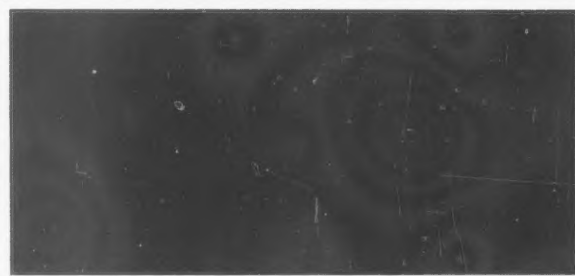
The Sunday Oklahoman 12/30/79

(ANNISTON, ALABAMA)--AUTHORITIES IN CALHOUN COUNTY, ALABAMA, SAY GEORGIA POLICE HAVE LOCATED THE ESCAPE CAR THAT MAY HAVE BEEN USED BY AUDREY HILLEY WHO IS CHARGED WITH ATTEMPTING TO POISON HER NEWS FROM THE ASSOCIATED PRESS:



Mary LaTorre (left), one of a number of women on the Hill who are still speak the Italian dialect, heads home from a shopping trip to one of the neighborhood markets.

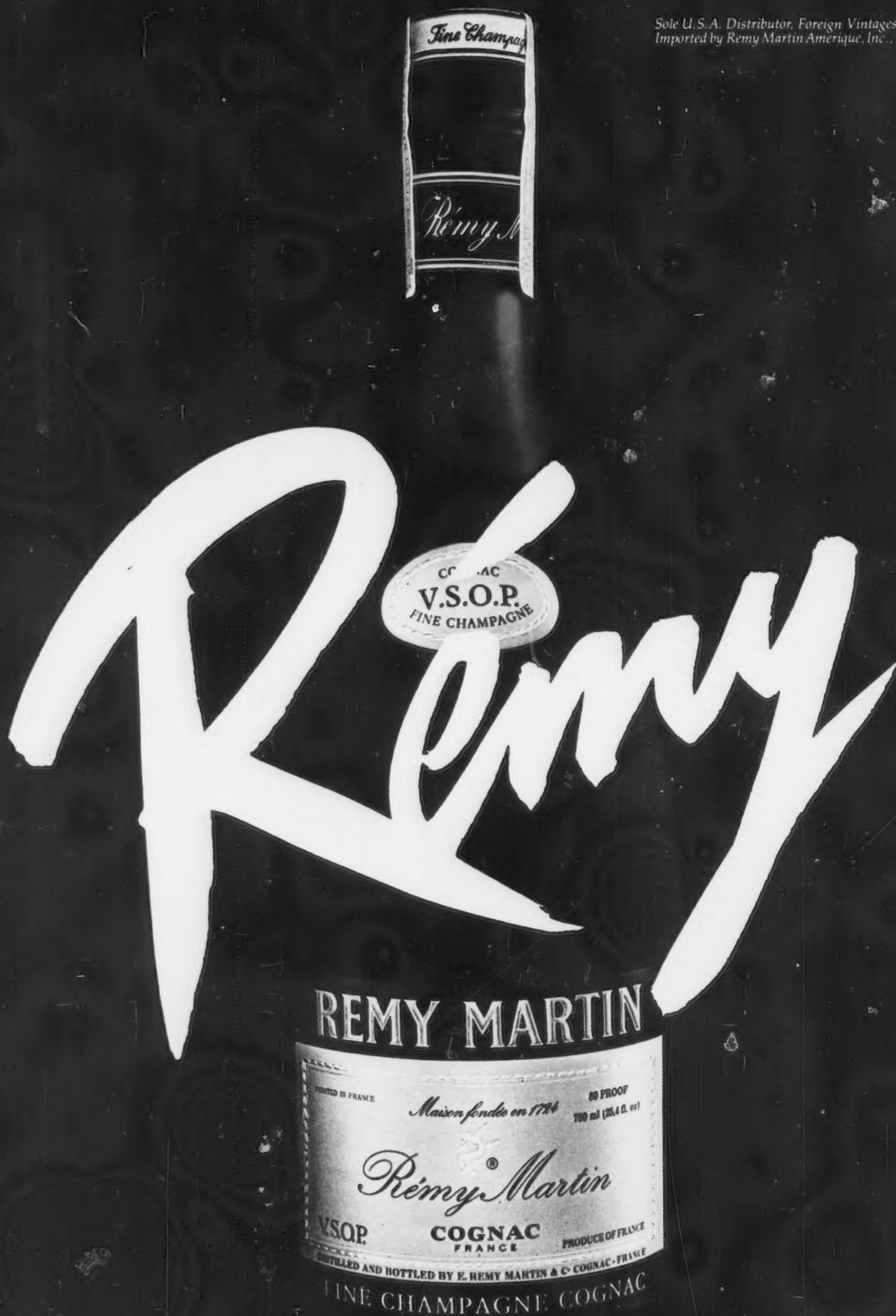
St. Louis Globe-Democrat 1/9/80



UNDER COVER of inky blackness the Russian cargo ship "Nicolay Karamzin" sneaked under the Rio Vista Bridge Friday night and headed out to sea loaded with corn. A Coast Guard vessel escorted the ship as protestors gathered.

The River News-Herald (Rio Vista, Calif.) 1/23/80

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